





ALIENATION

OF THE

DELAWARE AND SHAWANESE
INDIANS.

1759.

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CAUSES OF THE ALIENATION

OF THE

400
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DELAWARE AND SHAWANESE
INDIANS

FROM THE

BRITISH INTEREST.

Charles Thomson



PHILADELPHIA:
JOHN CAMPBELL,
MDCCCLXVII.

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A N
E N Q U I R Y
I N T O T H E

Cauſes of the Alienation

O F T H E

DELAWARE AND SHAWANESE INDIANS

F R O M T H E

B R I T I S H I N T E R E S T,

And into the Meaſures taken for recovering their
F R I E N D S H I P.

Extracted from the PUBLIC TREATIES, and other Authentic Papers relating to the Tranſactions of the Government of *Penſylvania* and the ſaid *Indians*, for near Forty Years; and explained by a MAP of the Country.

Together with the remarkable JOURNAL of *Chriſtian Frederic Poſt*, by whoſe Negotiations, among the *Indians* on the *Ohio*, they were withdrawn from the Intereſt of the *French*, who thereupon abandoned the Fort and Country.

With Notes by the EDITOR explaining fundry *Indian* Customs, &c.

Written in *Penſylvania*.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. WILKIE, at the Bible, in St. Paul's Church-yard.
MDCCLIX.

T H E

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

IT has been to many a Cause of Wonder, how it comes to pass that the *English* have so few *Indians* in their Interest, while the *French* have so many at Command; and by what Means and for what Reasons those neighbouring Tribes in particular, who, at the first Arrival of the *English* in *Pensylvania*, and for a long Series of Years afterwards, shewed every Mark of Affection and Kindness, should become our most bitter Enemies, and treat those whom they had so often declared they looked upon as their Brethren, nay as their own Flesh and Blood, with such barbarous Cruelties.

By some they are looked on as faithless and perfidious; while others, considering their former Friendship, the many Services they have done the *English*, and the steady
At-

Attachment they have shewed to our Interest during several Wars with *France*, imagine there must be some Cause for this Change in their Behaviour. The *Indians* themselves, when called upon in a public Treaty, to explain the Motives of their Conduct, declare that the Sollicitations of the *French*, joined with the Abuses they have suffered from the *English*, particularly in being cheated and defrauded of their Land, have at length induced them to become our Enemies and to make War upon us.

That the *French* had been active to draw off the *Indians*, and engage them in their Interest, was not doubted: But as to the Complaints they made of Abuses received from the *English*, and of their being wronged of their Lands, much Pains have been taken to represent them as groundless, and only lame Excuses for their late Perfidiousness. Nay some have gone so far as to say, that these Complaints are the Effects of the unhappy Divisions that prevailed in this Government.

In order therefore to clear up these Points, and to examine into the Foundation and Truth of these Complaints, Recourse has been had to as many of the
Treaties

Treaties and Conferences held between the *Indians* and this Government, for above thirty Years past, as could be procured.

It is a Matter of no small Consequence to know the Grounds of the Complaints made by the *Indians*, that, in case they are false, Justice may be done to the Characters of those who are injured thereby; and, if true, that proper Remedies may be applied, and that the Crown of *Great Britain* may not, by the Avarice and Wickedness of a few, be deprived of the Friendship and Alliance of those Nations who are capable of being our most useful Friends, or most dangerous Enemies.

It could have been wished, for the Sake of Truth, that Access had been allowed to the Minutes of Council, which are the only public Record kept of the Transactions between the Government of *Pensylvania* and the *Indians*; or that the Minutes of several Conferences with the *Indians* had been duly taken, and regularly published; or that all the Deeds granted by the *Indians* had been recorded in the Rolls-Office, as they ought to have been: Had these been done, the Matter might have been set in a fuller and clearer Light. However, by perusing the following Extracts,
taken

taken from such Treaties as could be met with, from the Votes of the Assembly, from such Deeds as have been recorded, and from other authentic Papers and Letters, it will be clearly seen whether the Complaints of the *Indians* are only invented to palliate their late Conduct; whether they are the Effects of Party; or whether their Pretensions are reasonable and their Demands consistent with Justice.

A N

E N Q U I R Y, & c.

G O V E R N O R *Keith* having, in 1722, re-^{Introduc-}
ceived Advice that some Persons under ^{tion to}
Pretence of searching for Copper Mines, in- ^{Treaty,}
tended to take up Lands, by virtue of *Mary- 1722.
land Rights on the West Side of the River *Suf-*
quebannah above *Conestogo*, issued a Proclamation
to prevent them. Soon after, having Advice
that some Persons were actually gone from
Maryland to survey the Land, he went thither
himself with the Surveyor-General of the Pro-
vince, and arriving first, ordered the Surveyor-
General, by virtue of Proprietary Rights which
he had before purchased, to survey for him five
hundred and thirty Acres of Land upon that
Spot, which he perceived was like to prove a
Bone of Contention and the Occasion of Mis-
chief. Upon his Return being informed that
the young Men of *Conestogo* were going out to
War, he thought it necessary to hold a Confer-
ence with those *Indians*; and accordingly going
to their Town, called a Meeting of the Chiefs
of the *Mingoes*, the *Shawanese*, and the *Ganaway*
(*Conoy*) *Indians*, at which he reminded them of
the Friendship that subsisted between them and ^{Conestogo}
this Government, of the Favours he had done ^{Treaty,}
them, how he had gone to *Virginia* to serve 1722.
them,*

them, and at their Request removed one *John Grist* from a Settlement he had made beyond the *Susquehannab*, and had strictly forbidden any Person from taking up Lands or settling there without his Leave, &c. In the Close of his Speech he informs them of the News he had heard of their going to War, and absolutely forbids them to go.

Hereupon the *Indians* called a Council, and having agreed upon an Answer, met the Governor next Day: And *Civility* their Chief having, in the Name of the *Indians*, thanked the Governor for the Pains he had taken to serve them, and expressed the Confidence they had in the Government, declares, that tho' their Warriors were intended against the *Catawbass*, yet as the Governor disapproved of their going they should be immediately stopped, after which he proceeds to say, "That when the Proprietor, *William Penn*, came into this Country Forty Years ago, he got some Person at *New York* to purchase the Lands on *Susquehannab* from the Five Nations, who pretended a Right to them, having conquered the People formerly settled there; that when *William Penn* came from *New York* he sent for them to hold a Council with him at *Philadelphia*, and shewed them a Parchment, which he told them was a Right to those Lands, that he had purchased them from the Five Nations, for which he had sent a great many Goods in a Vessel to *New York*; that when the *Conestogoes* understood he had bought their Land, they were sorry; upon which *William Penn* took the Parchment and laid it upon the Ground, saying to them, that it should be in common amongst them, viz. the *English* and the *Indians*; that when *William Penn* had after that Manner given them the same privilege
to

to the Land as his own People, he told them he would not do as the *Marylanders* did, by calling them Children or Brothers only; for often Parents would be apt to whip their Children too feverely, and Brothers sometimes would differ; neither would he compare the Friendship between him and the *Susquehannab Indians* to a Chain, for the Rain might sometimes rust it, or a Tree fall and break it; but he said the *Indians* should be esteemed by him and his People as the same Flesh and Blood with the Christians, and the same as if one Man's Body was to be divided in two Parts. After they had made so firm a League with *William Penn*, he gave them that Parchment, (here *Civility* held a Parchment in his Hand) and told them to preserve it carefully for three Generations, that their Children might see and know what then passed in Council, as if he remained himself with them to repeat it, but that the fourth Generation would both forget him and it."

Civility presented to the Governor the Parchment in his Hand to read; it contained Articles of Friendship and Agreement made between the Proprietary and them, and confirmed the Sale of Lands made by the Five Nations to the Proprietary *.

* *Query*. By what *Civility* says, would it not appear that the *Indians* were not made fully acquainted with the Nature of that Parchment, for after what is said of their being sorry that the Proprietor had bought their Lands, can it be imagined that they intended by it to give up their Right to that Land, or to confirm to the Proprietary the Purchase made of the Five Nations, without reserving themselves a Right to those Lands in common with the *English*, agreeable to what they imagined was promised to them? But it may be noted, all we know of the Contents of the Writing is from this account given by the Proprietary Agents.

The Governor's Answer to this is as follows :

“I am very glad to find that you remember so perfectly the wise and kind Expressions of the great and good *William Penn* towards you; and I know that the Purchase which he made of the Lands on both Sides *Susquehannab*, is exactly true as you tell it, only I have heard farther, that when he was so good to tell your People that notwithstanding that Purchase the Lands should still be in common between his People and them, you answered, that a very little Land would serve you, and thereupon you fully confirmed his Right by your own Consent and good Will, as the Parchment you shewed me fully declares.”

On the second Day of the Conference the Governor bade *Civility* ask all the *Indians* present, if they were well pleased to understand that the Governor had taken up a small Tract of Land so near them on the other Side of *Susquehannab*.

They answered, That they liked it very well, and said it was good Luck to them that there was any Thing to be found there which could invite the Governor to make a Settlement amongst them; but they desired to know whether the Governor's settling there would not occasion the immediate Settlement of all that Side of the River, and if that was the Governor's Intention.

To which the Governor answered, “It was not the Intention of the Government as yet, to suffer that Side of the River to be settled, being they could have no Magistrates or great Men there to keep the People in Peace and good Order; and that the Governor had only
taken

taken up that Land himself at this Time to prevent others from doing it without his Knowledge, and contrary to his Orders; and that he might be nearer to them himself, in order to save and protect them from being disturbed by any Persons whatsoever."

At this Treaty the *Indians* complain of the Damage they receive by strong Liquor being brought among them; they say, "The *Indians* "could live contentedly and grow rich, if it "were not for the Quantities of Rum that is "suffered to come amongst them, contrary to "what *William Penn* promised them."

In answer to this the Governor, after letting them know how much he is pleased with the Satisfaction they express at his making a small Settlement near them, "Assures them that he will be at some Pains to make it useful and convenient to them, by endeavouring to hinder his People from bringing such Quantities of Rum to sell among the *Indians*."

In the Treaty held at *Philadelphia* July 1727, between Governor *Gordon* and the Deputies of the Five Nations, the *Indians* Speaker, *Tanne-whannegab*, informs the Governor, "That the Chiefs of all the Five Nations being met in Council, and understanding that the Governor of this Province had divers Times sent for them to come hither, had therefore sent him and those present with him, to know the Governor's Pleasure." After this he proceeds to say, "That the first Governor of this Place, *Onas*, (*i. e.* Governor *Penn*) when he first arrived here, sent to them to desire them to sell Land to him, that they answered they would not sell it then, but they might do it in Time to come; that being several times sent for, they were now come to hear what the Governor had to offer,

offer, that when the Governor was at *Albany* he had spoke to them to this Purpose; Well, my Brethren, you have gained the Victory, you have overcome these People, and their Lands are yours, we shall buy them of you. How many Commanders are there amongst you?" And being told they were forty, he said, "Then if you will come down to me I will give each of these Commanders a Suit of Cloaths such as I wear." He farther takes Notice, "That a former Governor meeting some of the Warriors of the Five Nations at *Conestogo*, desired them to speak to their Chiefs about the Purchase of the Land at *Tsanandowa*; that having no Wampum to send by them as a Token of the Message, he gave the Warriors a Cask of Powder with some Shot, a Piece of red Strowds and some Duffels; that the Warriors delivered their Message to their Chiefs, who have now sent to let the Governor know they are willing to proceed to a Sale."

In answer to this the Governor tells them, "That he is glad to see them, that he takes their Visit very kindly at this Time, but that they were misinformed when they supposed the Governor had sent for them; that Governor *Penn* had, by Means of Colonel *Dungan*, already bought of the Five Nations the Lands on *Susquehannab*; that the Chiefs of the Five Nations about five Years ago, when Sir *William Keith* was at *Albany*, had of themselves confirmed the former Grant, and absolutely released all Pretensions to these Lands; that the Present which a former Governor made to some *Indian* Warriors at *Conestogo*, was not with a View to purchase the Lands at *Tsanandowa*; that he was obliged to them for their Offer to sell these Lands if they were not yet purchased;
but

but that he cannot treat about them at present; that *William Penn's* Son, who was born in this Country, is expected over here; who, when he comes, may treat with them if he thinks it proper; that, in the mean Time, as these Lands lie next to the *English* Settlements, tho' at a great Distance, he shall take this Offer as Proof of their Resolution to keep them for him."

After this the *Indians*, desiring a farther Conference with the Governor, inform him, "That
 "there come many Sorts of Traders among
 "them, both *Indians* and *English*, who all cheat
 "them, and, tho' they get their Skins, they
 "give them very little in Pay: They have so
 "little for them they cannot live, and can
 "scarce procure Powder and Shot to hunt with
 "and get more. These Traders bring little of
 "these, but instead of them they bring Rum,
 "which they sell very dear." They farther
 take Notice, "That both the *French* and the
 "*English* are raising Fortifications in their
 "Country, and in their Neighbourhood, and
 "that great Numbers of People are sent thither,
 "the Meaning of which they do not very well
 "conceive, but they fear some ill Consequence
 "from it. They desire that no Settlements
 "may be made up *Susquehannab* higher than
 "*Paxton*; that none of the Settlers thereabouts
 "be suffered to keep or sell any Rum there;
 "for that being the Road by which their Peo-
 "ple go out to War, they are apprehensive of
 "Mischief, if they meet with Liquor in these
 "Parts, for the same reasons they desire that
 "none of the Traders be allowed to carry any
 "Rum to the *Ohio*: And this they desire may
 "be taken Notice of as the Mind of the Chiefs
 "of the Five Nations."

To this the Governor answered, that, "as to
 Trade,

Trade, they know it is the Method of all that follow it to buy as cheap, and sell as dear, as they can, and every Man must make the best Bargain he can; the *Indians* cheat the *Indians*, and the *English* cheat the *English*, and every Man must be on his Guard; that as to Rum several Laws had been made to prevent its being carried among them, that they might break the Casks and destroy all the Rum that was brought to them; that hitherto no Settlements had been allowed to be made above *Paxton*, but as young People grow up they will spread of Course, tho' that will not be very speedily; that as to the Fortifications, the *English* being their Friends, they had nothing to fear from any they made, and as to those made by the *French*, they were so remote he knew nothing of them."

Minutes
of Coun-
cil deli-
vered to
the Assem-
bly.

Upon Information being made to the Governor, in *April* 1728, by one *Letort* an *Indian* Trader, that *Manawkybichon*, a *Delaware* Chief, to revenge the Death of *Wequeala** (or *Weekweley*) who had been hanged in the *Ferseys* the Year before, was endeavouring to engage the *Miamis*, or *Tweektwees*, to make War on the *English*, and that the Five Nations had joined with him, it was thought adviseable to enquire farther into this Matter. In the mean Time, it was judged proper, that the Governor should take some Notice of the *Indians* on *Susquehanna* and *Delaware*, these People generally thinking themselves slighted, as no Treaty had been held with them for some Time.

* This *Weekweley* is the same referred to in the *Lancaster* Treaty in *May* 1757, whose Death is assigned by the Deputies of the Five Nations as one of the Causes of the present Difference between the *Delawares* and *English*.

In

In Consequence of this, the Governor, as soon as he received Advice that Captain *Civil-ity*, Chief of the *Conestogo Indians*, was returned with his People from Hunting, dispatched an Express to acquaint those *Indians*, that he would meet them about the 23d of *May* at *Conestogo*, where he desired that the Chiefs of all the *Indians* might be present, and that Captain *Civility* would dispatch Messengers to *Sassoonan*, *Opekasset* and *Manawkybickon*, Chiefs of the *Delawares*, who live up the River *Susquehannah*, to be there. At the Time appointed the Governor went and met the Chiefs of the *Conestogoes*, the *Delaware Indians*, on *Brandy-Wine*, the *Canawese*, and the *Shawanese Indians*. At this Conference the Governor put them in Mind of the League of Friendship which had long subsisted between them and this Government, and refreshes their Memory by repeating the principal Heads of it. After this he informs them, that he heard the *Tweektwees* were coming as Enemies against this Country, which he thought must be false as he had never hurt the *Tweektwees*: He next acquaints them of a late Skirmish between eleven foreign *Indians* and about twenty of his People, at a Place called *Mahanatawny*; that, upon receiving the News, he immediately repaired to the Place, but found the *Indians* gone; that, upon his Return, he was informed of two or three furious Men having killed three friendly *Indians*, and hurt two Girls, which grieved him much; that thereupon he had the Murderers apprehended and put in Prison, and that they should be tried and punished as if they had killed white People. He likewise lets them know that, about eight Months ago, an *English* Man was killed by some *Indians* at the House of

John

John Burt in *Snake-Town*, and desires they would apprehend the Murderers and bring them to Justice.

The *Indians*, in their Answer, let the Governor know, they are well satisfied with what he had said, and assure him that what had happened at *John Burt's* House was not done by them, but by one of the *Minysink's**, another Nation, for which Reason they can say nothing to it.

Treaty at Philadelphia 1728. As the Messages which *Civility* sent to the *Delaware* Chiefs, who lived on *Susquebannah*, did not reach them soon enough for them to attend the Treaty at *Conestogo*, the Governor desired them to meet him at *Philadelphia*. † Accordingly, a few Days after, *Sassoonan*, King of the *Delawares*, with *Opekasset*, and a few more of his principal Men, came to *Philadelphia*, where the Governor gave them a hearty welcome, renewed the Treaties of Friendship which Mr. *Penn* had made with them; acquainted them of the Skirmish that had happened betwixt his People and a Party of *Shawanese*, who came armed and painted for War, and were taken for strange *Indians*; informed them of the unhappy Accident that had followed, and of his causing the Murderers to be apprehended and put in Gaol to be tried and punished as if they had killed one of his Majesty's Subjects; and, lastly, he condoled with the Friends of the Murdered, and comforted them after the *Indian* Manner.

In answer to this, *Sassoonan* thanks the Governor for the Speech he had made, declares himself well pleased with what the Governor said in

* Here it appears the *Minisinks* were declared to be a Nation over whom they had no authority,

† Tho' a Message was sent to *Manawkyhichan*, as well as to these, yet he did not come, being at that Time full of Resentment for the Death of his Kinsman.

Relation to the Accident that had happened to the *Indians*, and desired that no Misunderstanding might arise on that Account, and concluded with saying, that, in two Months, he designed to return and speak more fully.

But, being told, that if he had any Thing at all upon his Mind, it was now a proper Time to speak it, that it might be heard by all that Company, addressing himself to Mr. *James Logan*,* he proceeded to say, "That he was
"grown old, and was troubled to see the Christians settle on Lands that the *Indians* had
"never been paid for; they had settled on his
"Lands, for which he had never received any
"Thing; that he is now an old Man, and must
"soon die; that his Children may wonder to
"see all their Father's Lands gone from them
"without his receiving any Thing for them;
"that the Christians now make their Settlements very near them, and they shall have
"no Place of their own left to live on; that
"this may occasion a Difference between their
"Children and us hereafter; and he would
"willingly prevent any Misunderstanding that
"may happen."

As this Speech was addressed to Mr. *Logan*, he, with the Leave of the Governor, answered, "That he was no otherwise concerned in the
"Lands of this Province than as he was entrusted, with other Commissioners, by the
"Proprietor to manage his Affairs of Property
"in his Absence; that *William Penn* had made
"it a Rule never to suffer any Lands to be settled by his People, till they were first purchased of the *Indians*; that his Commissioners

* Mr. *Logan* was the Secretary and the Proprietaries principal Agent or Commissioner for Land Affairs during near forty Years.

“ had followed the same Rule, and how little
 “ Reason there was for any Complaint against
 “ him, or the Commissioners, he would now
 “ make appear.”

He said, “ That *Sassoonan*, who is now pre-
 “ sent, with divers others of the *Indian* Chiefs,
 “ about ten Years since, having a Notion that
 “ they had not been fully paid for their Lands,
 “ came to *Philadelphia* to demand what was due
 “ to them; that the Business was heard in Coun-
 “ cil, and he then produced to those *Indians* a
 “ great Number of Deeds, by which their An-
 “ cestors had fully conveyed, and were as fully
 “ paid for all their Lands from *Duck Creek* to
 “ near *the Forks of Delaware*, and that the *In-*
 “ *dians* were then entirely satisfied with what
 “ had been shewn to them; and the Commis-
 “ sioners, to put an End to all further Claims
 “ or Demands of that Kind, in Consideration
 “ of their Journey and Trouble, made them a
 “ Present in the Proprietor’s Name and Behalf,
 “ upon which they agreed to sign an absolute
 “ Release for all those Lands, and of all De-
 “ mands whatsoever upon Account of the said
 “ Purchase:” And exhibiting the said Instru-
 “ ment of Release, he desired it might be read,
 “ which was done in these Words;

“ We *Sassoonan*, King of the *Delaware In-*
 “ *dians*, and *Pokekais*, *Metashichay*, *Aiyamaikan*,
 “ *Pepawmaman*, *Ghettypenceman* and *Opekasset*,
 “ Chiefs of the said *Indians*, do acknowledge
 “ that we have seen and heard divers Deeds of
 “ Sale read unto us, under the Hands and Seals
 “ of the former Kings and Chiefs of the *Dela-*
 “ *ware Indians*, our Ancestors and Predecessors,
 “ who were Owners of Lands between *Dela-*
 “ *ware* and *Susquehannab* Rivers; by which
 “ Deeds they have granted and conveyed unto
 “ *William*

“ *William Penn*, Proprietor and Governor in
 “ Chief of the Province of *Pensylvania*, and to
 “ his Heirs and Affigns, all and singular their
 “ Lands, Islands, Woods and Waters, situate
 “ between the said two Rivers of *Delaware* and
 “ *Susquebannah*, and had received full Satisfac-
 “ tion for the same. And we do further ac-
 “ knowledge, that we are fully content and
 “ satisfied with the said Grant. And whereas
 “ the Commissioners, or Agents of the said
 “ *William Penn*, have been pleased, upon our
 “ Visit to this Government, to bestow on us, as
 “ a free Gift, in the Name of the said *William*
 “ *Penn*, these following Goods, viz. * two
 “ Guns, six Strowd-water Coats, six Blankets,
 “ six Duffel Match-Coats, and four Kettles, we
 “ therefore, in Gratitude for the said Present,
 “ as well in Consideration of the several Grants
 “ made by our Ancestors and Predecessors, as
 “ of the said several Goods herein before-men-
 “ tioned, the Receipt whereof we do hereby
 “ acknowledge, do, by these Presents, for us,
 “ our Heirs and Successors, Grant, Remise,
 “ Release, and for ever quit Claim unto the said
 “ *William Penn*, his Heirs and Affigns, all the
 “ said Lands situate between the said two Rivers
 “ of *Delaware* and *Susquebannah*, from *Duck*
 “ *Creek* to the Mountains on this Side *Lechaiy*,
 “ and all our Estate, Right, Title, Interest,
 “ Property, Claim and Demand whatsoever, in
 “ and to the same, or any Part thereof; so that
 “ neither we, nor any of us, nor any Person
 “ or Persons, in the Behalf of any of us, shall,
 “ or may hereafter, lay any Claim to any of the
 “ said Lands, or in anywise molest the said *Wil-*

* The Value of these Goods about ten Pounds *Sterling*,
 or one Year's Quit-Rent of 20,000 Acres of Land at the
 old Rent, of 5,000 Acres at the new.

“ *liam*

“ *liam Penn*, his Heirs or Assigns, or any Per-
 “ son claiming by, from, or under him, them,
 “ or any of them, in the peaceable and quiet
 “ Enjoyment of the same. In Witness whereof
 “ we have hereunto set our Hands and Seals, at
 “ *Philadelphia*, the seventeenth Day of *Septem-*
 “ *ber*, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand
 “ seven Hundred and eighteen.

“ Sealed and deli- *Sassoonan* his Mark ○
 “ vered (by all but *Pokebais* his Mark ○
 “ *Pokebais* and *Pe-* *Metasheechay* his Mark ○
 “ *pawmaman*, who *Ayyamaikan* his Mark ○
 “ were absent) in *Ghettypenceman* his Mark ○
 “ the Presence of *Opekasset* his Mark ○
 “ *W. Kieth*, *Ro-* *Pepawmaman* his Mark ○
 “ *bert Ashbeton*, *Sa-*
 “ *muel Preston*, *Anthony Palmer*, *Jonathan Dick-*
 “ *inson*, *Indian Sam*, Son to *Essepenaika*, *Indian*
 “ *Peter*, *Pokebais's* Nephew or *Aweaykoman*,
 “ *Kachaguesconk*, or *Toby*, his Mark, *Tussoigbee-*
 “ *man*, his Mark, *Neeshalappih*, or *Andrew*, his
 “ Mark. Sealed and delivered by *Pokebais* and
 “ *Pepawmaman* in the Presence of *James Logan*,
 “ *Robert Asheton*, *Clement Plumsted*, *David Evans*,
 “ *Nedawaway*, or *Oliver*, *Neeshalappy*, or *An-*
 “ *drew.*”

This Deed *Sassoonan* and *Opekasset* both ac-
 knowledged to be true, and that they had been
 paid for all the Lands therein-mentioned; but
Sassoonan said, the Lands beyond these Bounds
 had never been paid for; that these reached no
 farther than a few Miles beyond *Oley*, but that
 their Lands on *Tulpybockin* were seated by the
 Christians.

Mr. *Logan* answered, that he understood at
 the Time that Deed was drawn, and ever since,
 that *Lechay Hills*, or Mountains, stretched
 away

away from a little below *Lechay*, or the Forks of *Delaware*, to those Hills on *Susquehannah*, that lie about ten Miles above *Pexton*. Mr. *Farmer* said, those Hills passed from *Lechay* a few Miles above *Oley*, and reached no farther, and that *Tulpybockin* Lands lay beyond them.

Mr. *Logan* proceeded to say, that whether those Lands of *Tulpybockin* were within or without the Bounds mentioned in the Deed, he well knew that the *Indians*, some few Years since, were seated on them, and that he, with the other Commissioners, would never consent that any Settlement should be made on Lands, where the *Indians* were seated; that these Lands were settled wholly against their Minds, and even without their Knowledge.

After this, Mr. *Logan*, by a Petition presented to Governor *Keith* by the *Dutch* settled at *Tulpybockin*, goes on to prove, that merely by the Authority of Governor *Keith*, “Those
“Foreigners (namely the *Dutch*) had been encouraged to invade these Lands (at *Tulpybockin*) to the manifest Injury of the Proprietor,
“and to the great Abuse of the *Indians*, who,
“at that very Time, were seated there, and had
“their Corn destroyed by those People’s Creatures.” Then applying to the *Indians*, “He
“desired, that tho’ these People had seated
“themselves on the *Tulpybockin* Lands, without
“the Commissioners Leave or Consent, yet
“that they would not offer them any Violence,
“or injure them, but wait till such Time as
“that Matter could be adjusted.”

As the Governor had examined *Civility** and the *Conestogo* *Indians* about the Murder that was committed at *John Burt’s*, so likewise he en-

* An *Indian* Chief so called.

quired of these whether they had not heard of that Matter, and whether the *Indians*, who committed the Murder, belonged to them. They said, they had heard of it, but it was not done by any of theirs, but by some of the *Minissink Indians*: The Governor then asked them where those of that Nation lived, and under what Chief. To which they answered, That the *Minissinks* lived at the Forks of *Susquehannab* above *Meebayomy*, and that their King's Name was *Kindassowa*. Thus we see that the *Minissinks* are quite a distinct Nation from the Northern *Delawares*, of which *Sassoonan* was King, and consequently no Lands of the former could be conveyed away by any Grant from the latter.

As the Boundaries between the *Indians* and the *English* are so fully ascertained in this Treaty, it was thought proper to be thus particular. Every Thing relating to Land Affairs are here so clearly stated, the Deed of Release so full and explicit, that for the future one would imagine no Doubts could arise respecting Lands; or, should any arise, they might easily be solved. By what is here said, it appears plain that the *Delaware Indians* can have no Pretensions to the Lands lying between *Susquehannab* and *Delaware*, from *Duck Creek* to the *Lechay Hills* below the Forks of *Delaware*; and that the *English*, at that Time, had no Right or Pretensions, under *Indian* Titles, to any Lands North of the said *Lechay Hills*; that all the Deeds, formerly given by the *Indians*, were carefully examined, and the Extent of the Lands therein granted was fully ascertained, and all included, in the Deed of 1718.

It may not be amiss to mention here, that the Year before, when some Persons wanted to take up Lands in the *Minissinks* (which is in the
Forks

Forks of *Delaware*) Mr. *Logan* wrote to the Surveyor of *Bucks* County to prevent it; nay, would not permit any Lands to be surveyed on the *Letchay* Hills four Miles above *Durham*, because not purchased of the *Indians*, unless the *Indians* previously engage to part with it very reasonably. This appears from the annexed Copy of the Letter which has been compared with the Original now in being.*

In 1729, when the *Conestogoes* and *Ganaway* ^{Treaty} *Indians* came to return the Governor's Visit, with the and to make him a Present, the *Shawanese* did ^{Conestogoes, &c.} not come, having (as *Civility* said) unhappily ^{at Philadelphia,} spent all their Provisions on Rum; for which ^{1729.} Reason they were obliged to stay at home and provide Subsistence for their Families: However, they contributed their Part of the Present to be made, and desired that those that came, to speak in their Name.

At this Treaty *Tawenna*, an aged Counsellor, repeated the Substance of several Conferences

* Friend *Tho. Watson*, *Philadelphia*, 20. Nov. 1727.

This Morning I wrote to thee by *Jac. Taylor* concerning Warrants that may be offered thee to be laid out on the *Minissink* Lands, and was then of Opinion, that the Bearer, hereof, *Jos. Wheeler*, proposed to lay his there. Having since seen him, he tells me he has no such Thought, but would have it laid three or four miles above *Durham*, on a Spot of pretty good Land there amongst the Hills, and, I think, at some Distance from the River, proposing, as he says, to live there himself with his Kinsman, who was here with him. Pray take the first Opportunity to mention it to *J. Langborn*; for, if he has no considerable Objection to it (that is, if he has laid no Right on it) I cannot see that we should make any other than that *it is not purchased of the Indians*, which is so material an One, that, without their previous Engagement to part with it very reasonably, it cannot be surveyed there. But of this they themselves, I mean *Jos. Wheeler*, &c. propose to take Care. This is what offers on this Head from thy loving Friend,

Ja. Logan.

which

which Mr. *Penn* had held with the *Indians*; desired that Love and Friendship might ever continue between the *English* and *Indians*; that what Governor *Penn* had spoke to them might ever be remembered; and concludes with saying, “That he is well pleased with all that has passed between us and them, but is apprehensive some Mischief may happen thro’ the great Quantities of Rum which are daily carried amongst the *Indians*, who, being greedy of that Liquor, are soon debauched by it, and may then easily be stirred up to some unhappy or ill Action; that *William Penn* had told them he would not suffer any large Quantity of that Liquor to be brought among them, and that they might stave the Casks, and spill it, if they found any in the Woods; but that now several Hogheads of Rum are brought to *Conestogo*, and to several other Places in their Road, and near to them, by which Means the *Indians* are tempted not only to sell their Peltry, but likewise their Cloathing, for that Liquor, and are much impoverished thereby.”

To this *Civility* added, “That he was very uneasy lest any Mischief should happen thro’ the great Plenty of Rum daily brought amongst them; his Concern, he said, was not so much for Fear of any Accident among the *Indians* themselves, for if one *Indian* should kill another they have many Ways of making up such an Affair, but his Uneasiness proceeded from an Apprehension lest a Christian should be ill used by any *Indian* intoxicated with Liquor.”

The Governor, in his Answer, says, “He is pleased to see them, and glad to find they remembered what *William Penn* had said to them; that

that as to what they complained of their suffering by Rum, many Laws had been made against it, but the *Indians* make all these Laws of no Effect; they will have it; they send their Women for it to all Places where it can be had; he could make no Laws against their drinking it; that they must make these themselves; that, if their Women would carry none, it would be more easy: However, I shall, says he, endeavour to prevent its being carried in such Quantities."

This was commonly the Case when the *Indians* complained; they had fair Promises made them, but no effectual Measures seem to have been taken to redress the Grievance.

In 1731, the Governor having received Advice that the *Shawanese* had been once or twice at *Montreal* to visit the *French* Governor, was apprehensive that the *French* were endeavouring to gain them over to their Interest, and therefore sent to invite them to a Conference at *Philadelphia*. In *September*, 1732, *Opakethwa* and *Opakeita*, two of their Chiefs, attended with two others, came down. Upon their Arrival, the Governor asked them, why they had removed so far back as *Allegheny* or the *Ohio*; and why they had been so often of late at *Canada*? Treaty with the Shawanese at Philadelphia, 1732.

To this they answered, That they formerly lived at *Potomack*, where their King died; that, upon his Death, not knowing what to do, they took their Wives and Children, and went over the Mountains to live; that they had gone to *Canada* at the earnest invitation of the *French* Governor, but without any Intention to leave their Brethren the *English*, or turn their Backs upon them.

They were then put in Mind of their coming to *Conestogo* about 34 Years before, and of the

Treaties they had entered into with this Government, and were informed, that it was a Matter of Surprize that they should retire and leave the Province without first acquainting the Governor with it. They were told, that *Thomas Penn*, who was there present, was not pleased they should retire to such a Distance; that he desired they might live near us; and that they might not be straitned for want of Land, there was a large Tract laid out for them about their Town near *Pexton*, which should be always kept for them, and their Children, for all Time to come, or so long as any of them should continue to live with us.

To this they answered, that they had heard of the Land laid out for them, that they would come and see the Land; but that the Place where they are now suits them better, and is safer to live in; that they are pleased, however, with the Land laid out for them, and desire it may be secured to them. The next Day the Proprietor told them, that he would send a Surveyor to run Lines about the Land intended for them, that none but themselves and *Peter Chartiere* should be allowed to live on it.

But to return to the *Delawares*. We have seen above that the Lands on *Delaware* belonged originally to those *Indians*, and that of them the Proprietor, or his Agents, had, at several Times, bought the Lands between *Duck Creek* and the *Leckay Hills*. However, the white People, not confining themselves to these Bounds, went over and settled on the *Indian* Lands. This gave the *Indians* Uneasiness. They complained of the Settlement at *Tulpybochin*, and were persuaded not to molest the People settled there, but to wait till that Matter could be adjusted. Having waited some Time without receiving

receiving any Satisfaction for their Land unjustly taken from them, and seeing further Encroachments made, they renewed their Complaints, so that in 1731 the Assembly took Notice of them to the Governor, and desired that the *Indians* might be made easy respecting their Lands which they said were taken from them. In answer to this the Governor, in his Message to the Assembly, says, “Your Concern that our own *Indians* should be made easy, and those Complaints be removed that they have made of the Christians settling the Lands they claim, is prudent and just, and, in Compliance with your Request, I shall not only move it to the Proprietary Trustees to make a Purchase of these *Indians*, but shall promote it by all the Means in my Power. This I understand has been so long delayed solely in Expectation of the Arrival of some of our Proprietors, who, as the Descendants of their late honourable Father, for whose Name all the *Indians* have the highest Regard, would be the most proper to manage such an Affair with his own Estate. But as I am assured the Gentlemen now in Trust for them have all possible Zeal and Affection for the Peace and true Interest of the Country, it is not to be questioned but that, convinced by the Necessity of it, they will proceed to the utmost Length of the Powers they are invested with, so far as they can with any Safety to themselves, to answer your and my Request in so important an Affair.”

Thus we see that both the Governor and Assembly think it just and reasonable, nay, that it concerns the Peace of the Country, that the *Indians* should be made easy respecting their Lands, and that their Complaints should be removed.

Votes of
the Assembly,
Vol.
III. p. 158.

moved. Nothing however was done in that Affair till the Arrival of the Proprietary *Thomas Penn*, Esq; which was the Year following. Soon after his Arrival a Purchase was made of the Lands at *Tulpyhockin*. This is proved by many living Evidences, tho' the Deeds have not, as we can find, been recorded. But, at the same Time the *Indians* were satisfied on the one Hand, they were injured on the other. While they were paid for their Lands on *Tulpyhockin*, they were very unjustly, and in a Manner forcibly, dispossessed of their Lands in the Forks of *Delaware*. At this very Time Mr. *William Allen** was selling the Land in the *Minissinks*, which had never been purchased of the *Indians*: Nay, was near forty Miles above the *Lechay Hills*, which was so solemnly agreed upon to be the Boundary between the *English* and *Indians*.

Governor *Penn* had, by his last Will and Testament, devised to his Grandson *William Penn*, and his Heirs, 10,000 Acres of Land, to be set out in proper and beneficial Places in this Province by his Trustees. These 10,000 Acres Mr. *Allen* purchased of *William Penn*, the Grandson, and by Virtue of a Warrant or Order of the Trustees to *Jacob Taylor*, the Surveyor-General, to survey the said 10,000 Acres, he had Part of that Land located or laid out in the *Minissinks*, because it was good Land, tho' it was not yet purchased of the *Indians*. Had he contented himself with securing the Right to himself, and suffered the Lands to remain in the Possession of the *Indians*, till it had been duly purchased of them and paid for, no ill Consequences would have ensued: But (probably

* One of the principal Gentlemen in *Pennsylvania*, and a great Dealer in Lands purchased of the Proprietaries.

supposing

supposing the Matter might easily be accommodated with them in some future Treaty) no sooner had he the Land surveyed to him than he began to sell it to those who would immediately settle it. By his Deeds to *N. Depue*, dated 1733, and recorded in the Rolls-Office of *Bucks*, it appears that one of the Tracts he granted included a *Shawanese* Town, and that another was an Island belonging to the same Tribe of *Indians*, and from them called the *Shawna Island*.

About this Time the Proprietor published Proposals for a Lottery of one hundred Thousand Acres of Land, which the fortunate Adventurers were, by the fifth Article of the Proposals, allowed to “lay out any where
 “within the Province, except on Manors,
 “Lands already surveyed or agreed for with
 “the Proprietors, or their Agents, or that have
 “been actually settled and improved before
 “the Date of these Proposals; provided never-
 “theless, that such Persons who are settled on
 “Lands without warrants for the same and may
 “be intitled to Prizes, either by becoming
 “Adventurers themselves, or by purchasing
 “Prize-Tickets, may have Liberty to lay their
 “Rights on the Lands where they are so
 “seated.” So that there was no Exception of
 Lands unpurchased of the *Indians*, but rather
 an express Provision for those who had unjustly
 seated themselves there. Again, in the last
 Article, it is “farther agreed, that whereas sev-
 “eral of the Adventurers may be unacquainted
 “with proper Places whereon to locate the
 “Prizes they have been intitled to, several
 “Tracts of the best vacant Lands shall be laid
 “out and divided into Lotts for all Prizes not
 “less than 200 Acres.” In consequence of
 this

this, feveral Tracts were laid out in the Forks of *Delaware*, and divided into Lots, as above agreed. And tho' the Lottery did not readily fill, and confequently was not drawn, yet fo many of the Tickets as were fold became Rights to the Land, by Virtue of which the Tracts laid out in the Forks were quickly taken up and fettled.

Thefe tranfactions provoked the *Indians*, who feeing themfelves like to be deprived of their Lands without any Confideration, complained loudly, and not only complained but began to threaten. The Proprietor had two or three Meetings with them, the Minutes of which were never publifhed. But finding his Endeavours of no Avail to flop their Clamours, he had Recourfe to another Method, refolving to complain of them to the Deputies of the Five Nations, who were expected down to compleat the Bufinefs of a Treaty which fome of their Chiefs held with this Government in the Year 1732. In 1736 the Deputies of the Five Nations arrived. That a Complaint was at this Time exhibited againft the *Delawares* we are informed in the Treaty 1742; but in what Terms it was conceived, or what Notice the Deputies took of it, we are at a Lofs to fay, as no Minutes are publifhed of that Affair. Indeed the Minutes publifhed of the Treaty 1736 are fo imperfect, that they only ferve to fhew that a great deal was tranfaacted, and much was faid, of which little or no notice was taken, and over which a veil feems to be caft. We are juft told that moft Part of a Week had been fpent in treating with the Proprietor about the Purchase of Lands, and that they had figned Releafes to him for all the Lands lying between the Mouth of *Sufquehannab* and *Kettachtaninius* (*Kittatinny*)

(*Kittatinny*) Hills. By the Deed itself it appears, that the Extent of the Land eastward was “as far as the Heads of the Branches or “Springs which run into the said *Susquehanna*,” and therefore did not interfere with the Rights of the *Delawares*, who claimed the Lands lying upon the Waters that fall into *Delaware*.

Deed of Release for Indian Purchase, Oct. 11. 1736.

As Matters of Land were passed over almost in Silence, so likewise were the *Indians* Complaints regarding our Traders. No Notice is taken of them but in the Speech which Mr. *Logan* the President afterwards made to them. Nor should we have known they complained had he not mentioned it. “You have desired us, says he, to recall all our Traders from the *Ohio* or *Allegheny*, and the Branches of *Susquehanna*, but we know not what you mean by our recalling our Traders ; you are sensible the *Indians* cannot live without being supplied with our Goods ; they must have Powder and Lead to hunt, and Cloaths to keep them warm, and if our People do not carry them, others will from *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Ferseys*, and other Places, and we are sure you do not desire that *Indians* should trade with those People rather than with ours. The Traders of all Nations find the *Indians* are so universally fond of Rum that they will not deal without. We have made many Laws against carrying it ; we have ordered the *Indians* to stave the Cags of all that is brought amongst them, but the Woods have not Streets like *Philadelphia*, the Paths in them are endless that they cannot be stopt, so that it will be carried from one Country to another.” “If, replied the *Indians*, the Woods are dark, and it is impossible to prevent Rum being carried to *Allegheny*, you had better hinder
der

der any Persons going thither at all, and confine your Traders to the River *Susquebannak*, and its Branches; for as several *Indian* Warriors pass by *Allegheny*, where so much Rum is constantly to be had, we are apprehensive some Mischief may happen, and this Consideration often troubles us." In answer to this the *Indians* were told, that the Traders could not be prevented from going where they might best dispose of their Goods; that the most proper Measures in our Power should be taken to hinder their carrying Rum in such Quantities, and it was hoped the *Indians* would give strict Charge to the Warriors to be cautious and prudent that all Kind of Mischief might be prevented.

It has been remarked above, that the Lands granted by the Deputies of the Five Nations lay only on the Waters that run into *Susquebannak*. This was not sufficient to give any Colour of Right for settling the Lands in the Forks of *Delaware*; wherefore, to palliate this, some of the *Indians*, who remained in Town, after the kind Treatment they had met with, and the large presents they had received, were induced, eleven Days after the publick Treaty was ended, and fourteen Days after the Date of the first Deed, to sign a Piece of Writing, declaring, That "their Intention and Meaning, by the former Deed, was to release all their Right, Claim and Pretensions to all the Lands lying within the Bounds and Limits of the Government of *Pensylvania*, beginning eastward on the River *Delaware*, as far northward as the said Ridge of endless Mountains as they cross the Country of *Pensylvania* from the Eastward to the West."

With respect to this Writing, it is to be observed,

served, that, as the Five Nations claimed no Right to the Lands on *Delaware*, they could by the above Instrument, convey none. They only claimed the Lands on *Susquehannab*, for which Reason they say in the above Treaty, “That if *Civility* at *Conestogo* should attempt to “make a Sale of any Lands to us, or any of our “Neighbours, they must let us know that he “hath no Power to do so, and that, if he does “any Thing of the Kind, they the *Indians* will “utterly disown him.” But nothing like this is said of the *Delawares*, tho’ it was well known to the Five Nations that the *Delawares* undertook to sell Lands to the *English*, and had but a short time before sold the *Tulpyhockin* Lands. But, admitting the Five Nations had a Right, yet can it be supposed they would release that Right without a Consideration? The Extent of Land, taken in by the last Instrument of Writing, is evidently double that described in the first Deed, yet for this farther Grant there is no Consideration paid.

Indeed the Proprietor himself did not seem to think he had a Right to these Lands without a Release from the *Delawares*. He had, therefore, in 1737, a Meeting with *Monoky-kickan*, *Lappawinzoe*, *Tishekunk* and *Nutimus*, Chiefs of the *Delaware Indians*, at which he prevailed with them to sign a Release, by Means of which he thought he might gain what he wanted. We have no Minutes of that Conference or Treaty published; but, in the Preamble of the Release then granted, it is said, “That *Tishekunk* and *Nutimus* had about three Years before, begun a Treaty at *Durham* with *John* and *Thomas Penn*; that from thence another Meeting was appointed to be at *Pensbury* the next Spring, to which they repaired with

Lappawinzoe and several others of the *Delaware Indians*; that at this Meeting, several Deeds were shewed to them for several Tracts of Land which their Forefathers had more than fifty Years ago sold to *William Penn*; and, in particular, one Deed from *Maykeerikkisho*, *Sayboppey* and *Taughbaughsey*, the Chiefs or Kings of the northern *Indians* on *Delaware*, who for a certain Quantity of Goods, had granted to *William Penn* a Tract of Land, beginning on a Line drawn from a certain Spruce Tree on the River *Delaware* by a West North-West Course to *Neshameny* Creek, from thence back into the Woods as far as a Man could go in a Day and a half, and bounded on the West by *Neshameny*, or the most westerly branch thereof, so far as the said Branch doth extend, and from thence by a Line to the utmost Extent of the Day and half's Walk, and from thence to the aforefaid River *Delaware*, and so down the Courses of the River to the first mentioned Spruce Tree; and that this appeared to be true by *William Biles* and *Joseph Wood*, who, upon their Affirmation, did declare, That they well remember the Treaty held by the Agents of *William Penn* and those *Indians**; that some of the old Men being then absent they requested of Messrs. *John* and *Thomas Penn* more time to consult with their People concerning the same, which Request being granted, they, after more than two Years since the Treaty at *Pensbury*, were now come to *Philadelphia*, with their Chief *Monoky-*

* *Qucry*, Does the remembering that there was a Treaty prove the Execution of a Deed at that Treaty? *Joseph Wood's* Name is set as an Evidence in that Paper produced as a Copy of the Deed of 1686, why then did he not prove there was such a Sale made or Deed given?

hickan,

bickan, and several other old Men, and upon a former Treaty held upon the same Subject, acknowledge themselves satisfied that the above described Tract was granted by the Persons above mentioned, for which Reason they the said *Monokybickan*, *Lappawinzoe*, *Tishekunk* and *Nutimus*, agree to release to the Proprietors all Right to that Tract, and desire that it may be walked, travelled or gone over by Persons appointed for that Purpose.

It will, no doubt, appear strange, that no Notice is taken of the Deed of 1718, and that *Saffoonan* the *Delaware* King, with whom the Treaty of 1728 was held, tho' still alive, was not present at any of these Meetings. But the Reason was plain: The Deed of 1718 fixed the Boundaries so certain that no Advantage could be taken of it; and had *Saffoonan* been there, he might have obstructed their Measures. For, had he doubted there being a Deed, he might have objected, that the Evidence of Persons declaring that they remembered a Treaty's being held (for that is all that *William Biles* and *Joseph Wood* say) did not prove that a Deed was granted; and he might have called upon them to prove it regularly by the Evidence of those who were witnesses to the Execution of it: Or, had he admitted the Deed, he might have insisted that it was fully considered at the Treaty in 1718, and that the Tract therein described had already been walked out, and was included in the Deed then granted. And how these Objections would have been answered is hard to say. He would, no doubt, have put them in Mind, that their late Purchase of the Lands on *Tulpyhockin* was a further Confirmation on their Part of the Boundaries agreed on in the Deed 1718; because thereby the Proprietors

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admitted that the *Oley Hills*, which are a Continuation of the *Leckay Hills*, was the northernmost Extent of any Claim the Proprietors could make under any former *Indian Purchases*.

It was therefore necessary, in order that Things might be carried on quietly, that the Deed of 1718 should be passed over in Silence, and that *Sassoonan* should not be present, nor any of those who signed that Deed. If it be asked what Advantage could be gained by getting the Deed of 1686 confirmed? we shall easily see by an Account of the Walk, and of the Advantage taken of the Blanks in the Deed of Release. The Account of the Walk shall be given in the Words of the Persons who were Eye-Witnesses, as written and signed by them.

“The Relation which *Thomas Furniss*, Saddler, gives concerning the Day and half’s Walk made between the Proprietors of *Pensylvania* and the *Delaware Indians*, by *James Yeates* and *Edward Marshall*.”

“At the Time of the Walk I was a Dweller at *Newton*, and a near Neighbour to *James Yeates*. My Situation gave *James Yeates* an easy Opportunity of acquainting me with the Time of setting out, as it did me of hearing the different Sentiments of the Neighbourhood concerning the Walk, some alledging it was to be made by the River, others that it was to be gone upon a strait Line from somewhere in *Wrights-Town*, opposite to a Spruce Tree upon the River’s Bank, said to be a Boundary to a former Purchase. When the Walkers and the Company started I was a little behind, but was informed they proceeded

“ceeded from a Chesnut Tree near the Turn-
 “ing out of the Road from *Durham* Road to
 “*John Chapman*’s, and, being on Horse-back,
 “overtook them before they reach’d *Bucking-*
 “*ham*, and kept Company for some Distance
 “beyond the blue Mountains, tho’ not quite
 “to the End of the Journey. Two *Indians*
 “attended, whom I considered as Deputies
 “appointed by the *Delaware* Nation, to see
 “the Walk honestly performed; one of them
 “repeatedly expressed his Dissatisfaction there-
 “with. The first Day of the Walk, before we
 “reached *Durham* Creek, where we dined in
 “the Meadows of one *Wilson* an *Indian* Trader,
 “the *Indian* said the Walk was to have been
 “made up the River, and complaining of the
 “Unfitness of his Shoepacks for Travelling,
 “said he expected *Thomas Penn* would have
 “made him a Present of some Shoes. After
 “this some of us that had Horses walked and
 “let the *Indians* ride by Turns, yet in the Af-
 “ternoon of the same Day, and some Hours
 “before Sun-set, the *Indians* left us, having
 “often called to *Marshall* that Afternoon and
 “forbid him to run. At parting they appeared
 “dissatisfied, and said they would go no further
 “with us; for, as they saw the Walkers would
 “pass all the good Land, they did not care how
 “far or where we went to. It was said we tra-
 “velled twelve Hours the first Day, and, it
 “being in the latter end of *September*, or Begin-
 “ning of *October*, to compleat the Time, were
 “obliged to walk in the Twilight. *Timothy*
 “*Smith*, then Sheriff of *Bucks*, held his Watch
 “in his Hand for some Minutes before we
 “stopt, and the Walkers having a piece of
 “rising Ground to ascend, he called out to
 “them, telling the Minutes behind, and bid
 “them

“ them pull up, which they did so briskly, that,
 “ immediately upon his saying the Time was
 “ out, *Marshall* clasped his Arms about a Sap-
 “ lin to support himself, and thereupon the
 “ Sheriff asking him what was the Matter, he
 “ said he was almost gone, and that, if he had
 “ proceeded a few Poles further, he must have
 “ fallen. We lodged in the Woods that Night,
 “ and heard the Shouting of the *Indians* at a
 “ Cantico, which they were said to hold that
 “ Evening in a Town hard by. Next Morn-
 “ ing the *Indians* were sent to, to know if they
 “ would accompany us any further, but they
 “ declined it, altho’ I believe some of them
 “ came to us before we started, and drank a
 “ Dram in the Company, and then straggled
 “ off about their Hunting or some other
 “ Amusement. In our Return we came thro’
 “ this *Indian* Town or Plantation *Timothy Smith*
 “ and myself riding forty Yards more or less
 “ before the Company, and as we approached
 “ within about 150 Paces of the Town,
 “ the Woods being open, we saw an *Indian*
 “ take a Gun in his Hand, and advancing
 “ towards us some Distance placed himself
 “ behind a Log that lay by our Way. *Timothy*
 “ observing his Motions and being somewhat
 “ surpris’d, as I apprehended, looked at me,
 “ and asked what I thought that *Indian* meant.
 “ I said, I hoped no Harm, and that I thought
 “ it best to keep on, which the *Indian* seeing,
 “ arose and walked before us to the Settlement.
 “ I think *Timothy Smith* was surpris’d, as I well
 “ remember I was, thro’ a Consciousness that
 “ the *Indians* were dissatisfied with the Walk, a
 “ Thing the whole Company seemed to be sen-
 “ sible of, and upon the Way, in our Return
 “ home, frequently expressed themselves to that
 “ Pur-

“ Purpose. And indeed the Unfairness practised
 “ in the Walk, both in regard to the Way
 “ where, and the Manner how, it was perform-
 “ ed, and the Dissatisfaction of the *Indians* con-
 “ cerning it, were the common Subjects of
 “ Conversation in our Neighbourhood for some
 “ considerable Time after it was done. When
 “ this Walk was performed I was a young Man
 “ in the Prime of Life; the Novelty of the
 “ Thing inclined me to be a Spectator, and as
 “ I had been brought up most of my Time in
 “ *Burlington*, the whole Transaction to me was a
 “ Series of Occurrences almost entirely new,
 “ and which therefore, I apprehend, made the
 “ more strong and lasting Impressions on my
 “ Memory.

“ *Thomas Furniss.* ”

Joseph Knowles's *Account of the said Walk is as follows* ;

“ June 30th, 1757. I Joseph Knowles, living
 “ with *Timothy Smith* at the Time of the Day
 “ and half's Walk with the *Indians*, (*Timothy*
 “ *Smith* then Sheriff for *Buck's County*) do say,
 “ that I went some Time before to carry the
 “ Chain, and help to clear a Road, as directed
 “ by my Uncle *Timothy Smith*. When the Walk
 “ was performed I was then present, and carried
 “ Provisions, Liquors and Bedding. About
 “ Sun-rising we set out from *John Chapman's*
 “ Corner at *Wrights-Town*, and travelled until
 “ we came to the Forks of *Delaware*, as near as
 “ I can remember was about one of the Clock
 “ the same Day. The *Indians* then began to
 “ look fullen, and murmured that the Men
 “ walked so fast, and several Times that After-
 “ noon called out, and said to them, You run;
 “ that's

“ that’s not fair, you was to walk. The Men
 “ appointed to walk paid no Regard to the
 “ *Indians*, but were urged by *Timothy Smith*, and
 “ the rest of the Proprietor’s Party, to proceed
 “ until the Sun was down. We were near the
 “ *Indian Town* in the Forks: The *Indians* de-
 “ nied us going to the Town on Excuse of a
 “ Cantico. We lodged in the Woods that
 “ Night. Next Morning, being dull rainy
 “ Weather, we set out by the Watches, and
 “ two of the three *Indians*, that walked the Day
 “ before, came and travelled with us about two
 “ or three Miles, and then left us, being very
 “ much dissatisfied, and we proceeded by the
 “ Watches until Noon. The above I am willing
 “ to qualify* to any Time when desired. Wit-
 “ ness my Hand the Day and Year above said.
 “ *Jos. Knowles.*”

Having, by Means of the above Walk, gone
 about 30 Miles beyond the *Lechay Hills*, which
 were so solemnly agreed upon in 1718 and 1728,
 to be the Boundaries, it now remained to draw
 the Line from the End of the Walk to the Ri-
 ver *Delaware*. We have seen above there was
 a Blank left for the Course of this Line: Taking
 the Advantage, therefore, of this Blank, instead
 of running by the nearest Course to the River,
 or by an East South-East Course, which would
 have been parallel to the Line from which they
 set out, they ran by a North-East Course for
 above an hundred Miles across the Country to
 near the Creek *Lechawachsein*, and took in the
 best of the Land in the Forks, all the *Mini-
 sinks*, &c. Thus a Pretence was gained for
 claiming the Land in the Forks without pay-
 ing any Thing for it. But the Accomplishment

* *i. e.* Take an Oath or Affirmation.

of this Design lost us the Friendship of the *Indians*, and laid the Foundation of our present Troubles, and will, it is to be feared, in the End cost the Proprietaries very dear. But had there been nothing else to object to this Deed, what shews indisputably, that an undue Advantage was taken, is, that under Colour of a Release given by the Chiefs of the *Delawares*, the Lands belonging to the *Minisink Indians* were taken in, tho' these latter *Indians* were, as we have seen above, declared, both by the *Conestogoes* and *Delawares*, to be a Nation independant of them, and whose Lands they consequently could not convey away: And the depriving the *Minisink Indians* thus of their Lands is, no doubt, the Reason that they have of late been our most bitter Enemies, and are at present inclined to Peace and Friendship the least of any of the northern Tribes.

In 1742 the Deputies of the Six Nations made a Visit to this Government. In the Minutes that are published of that Treaty, it is said, that the Design of their Coming was to receive from the Proprietor a large Quantity of Goods for the Lands on the west Side of *Susquehannab*, they having at their last Treaty in 1736 only received Goods for the Lands on the eastern Side of that River: But it appears from Governor *Thomas's* Message to the Assembly, with the Minutes of the Treaty, as well as from the Treaty itself, that there was another Cause for pressing them to come down at this Time. The Governor expressly says, “That their coming
 “down was not only necessary for the *present*
 “*Peace of the Province in Regard to some Indians*
 “*who had threatened to maintain by Force their*
 “*Possession of Lands*, which had been long ago
 “purchased of them, and since conveyed by
 “the

Votes of
the Assen-
bly, Vol.
III. p.
481, &c.

“ the Proprietaries to some of our own Inhabitants, but for its future Security in case of a Rupture with the *French*.”

The Truth of the Matter was this. The *Minisink* and *Fork Indians* saw themselves unjustly dispossessed of their Lands; *Nutimus* and others, who signed the Release 1737, saw themselves over-reached, they were not therefore willing to quit the Lands, nor give quiet Possession, to the People who came thick to take up Lands and settle in the *Forks*. They had complained of the Walk, as we have seen, but no Regard was paid to their Complaints. They now proceeded to other Measures. They got Letters wrote to the Governor and Mr. *Langborne* a Magistrate of *Bucks*, in which they treated the Proprietors with a great deal of Freedom, remonstrated against the Injustice that was done them, and declared their Resolution of maintaining the Possession of their Lands by Force of Arms. This alarmed the Proprietor, who thereupon, in 1741, sent *Shicalamy* (a Six Nation *Indian*, who resided at *Shamokin*) to the Six Nations, to press them to come down. It was well known that the Six Nations had a great Authority over the *Delawares*; it was therefore thought sufficient to engage them to interpose their Authority, and force the *Delawares* to quit the *Forks*. Accordingly when the Deputies of the Six Nations came down in 1742, the Governor told them, that “The last Time the Chiefs of the Six Nations were here they were informed, that their Cousins, a Branch of the *Delawares*, gave this Province some Disturbance about the Lands the Proprietors purchased from them, and for which their Ancestors had received a valuable Consideration above fifty five Years ago,

Treaty
at Philadelphia,
1742.

ago, as appears by a Deed now lying on the Table—That some Time after this, *Conrad Weiser* delivered to their Brother *Thomas Penn* their Letter, wherein they request of him and *James Logan*, that they would not buy Land, &c.—That this had been shewn to the *Delawares*, and interpreted; notwithstanding which they had continued their former Disturbances, and had the Insolence to write Letters to some of the Magistrates of this Government, wherein they had abused the worthy Proprietaries, and treated them with the utmost Rudeness and ill Manners; that being loth, out of Regard to the Six Nations, to punish the *Delawares* as they deserved, he had sent two Messengers to inform them, the Six Nation Deputies were expected here, and should be acquainted with their Behaviour; that, as the Six Nations, on all Occasions, apply to this Government to remove all white People that are settled on Lands before they are purchased from them, and as the Government use their Endeavours to turn such People off, so now he expects from them that they will cause these *Indians* to remove from the Lands in the Forks of *Delaware*, and not give any farther Disturbance to the Persons who are now in Possession; and this he enforced after the *Indian* Custom, by laying down a String of Wampum.”

Then were read the several Conveyances, the Paragraph of the Letters wrote by the Chiefs of the Six Nations, relating to the *Delawares*, the Letters of the Fork *Indians* to the Governor and Mr. *Langborne*, and a Draught of the Land.

When this Complaint was made, there were present *Sassoonan* the Chief, with whom the Treaty of 1728 was held, and *Nutimus*, one of those who had signed the Release in 1737; but
it

it does not appear that they were admitted to make any Defence, or to say any Thing in their own Vindication. Had there been any Design to do Justice to the *Delawares*, or to preserve the Friendship of those who, from the earliest Settlement of the Province, had been kind Neighbours and Friends, they would no Doubt have been admitted to speak for themselves, and to offer what Reasons they had for refusing to quit the Lands. But then the doing of this might have discovered the Iniquity of the Walk, and other unfair Advantages taken, and might have brought back the Boundaries to the *Lechay Hills*, the Place agreed upon in the Deed of 1718, and the Treaty of 1728, and so well known by the Proprietaries Commissioners, as appears from Mr. *Logan's* Letter already quoted, and from the Purchase which the same Gentleman and Company made from the *Indians* about the Year 1729 of a Tract of Land about *Durham*.

In this case it might then have cost the Proprietaries three or four hundred Pounds more to purchase the Lands in the Forks, if the *Indians* there had been willing to dispose of them; or, had the *Indians* refused that, it might have been difficult to remove the People settled there, and to reimburse them the Money they had paid the Proprietors for the Lands they had there taken up: Besides, some private Persons, as we have seen above, were making very large Estates by getting the good Lands in the Forks surveyed to them by Virtue of old Rights which they had purchased. Now, as it does not always happen that the Peace and Tranquility of the Public is preferred to private Interest, these might be unwilling to give up their Rights, unless the Proprietaries would
make

make them a suitable Compensation. For these, therefore, and other Reasons, it was judged best to call in the Assistance of the Six Nations, to put them in Mind, as had been done before, of the Use they might make of having conquered the *Delawares*, and of the Right they thereby acquired to their Lands; and lastly, by Means of a considerable Present, which the Province might be induced to make them, to engage them to “cause the *Indians* to “remove from the Lands in the Forks of *Dela-* “*ware*, and not to give any further Disturbance “to the Persons who were then in Possession.”

Accordingly, the second Day after receiving a Present from the Province, to the Value of three hundred Pounds, and what more from the Proprietor is uncertain, *Canassatego*, in the Name of the Deputies, told the Governor, “That they saw the *Delawares* had been an unruly People, and were altogether in the Wrong; that they had concluded to remove them, and oblige them to go over the River *Delaware*, and quit all Claim to any Lands on this Side for the future, since they have received Pay for them, and it is gone thro’ their Guts long ago:” Then addressing the *Delawares*, he said, “They deserved to be taken by the Hair of the Head and shaken severely, till they recovered their Senses and became sober— That he had seen with his Eyes a Deed signed by nine of their Ancestors above fifty Years ago for this very Land, and a Release signed not many Years since by some of themselves and Chiefs yet living, to the Number of fifteen and upwards.” “But how came you (says he, “continuing his Speech to the *Delawares*) to “take upon you to sell Lands at all? We “conquered you; we made Women of you: “You

“ You know you are Women, and can no more
 “ sell Land than Women; nor is it fit you
 “ should have the Power of selling Lands, since
 “ you would abuse it. This Land that you
 “ claim is gone thro’ your Guts; you have
 “ been furnished with Cloaths, Meat and Drink,
 “ by the Goods paid you for it, and now you
 “ want it again like Children as you are. But
 “ what makes you sell Lands in the Dark? Did
 “ you ever tell us that you had sold this Land?
 “ Did we ever receive any Part, even the Value
 “ of a Pipesmoke, from you for it? You have
 “ told us a blind Story, that you sent a Mes-
 “ senger to us, to inform us of the Sale, but
 “ he never came amongst us, nor we ever heard
 “ any thing about it. This is acting in the
 “ Dark, and very different from the Conduct
 “ our Six Nations observe in the Sales of Land.
 “ On such Occasions they give publick Notice,
 “ and invite all the *Indians* of their united Na-
 “ tions, and give them all a Share of the Present
 “ they receive for their Lands. This is the
 “ Behaviour of the wise united Nations. But
 “ we find you are none of our Blood; you act
 “ a dishonest Part not only in this but in other
 “ Matters; your Ears are ever open to slander-
 “ ous Reports about your Brethren—For all
 “ these Reasons we charge you to remove in-
 “ stantly; we don’t give you the Liberty to
 “ think about it. You are Women. Take
 “ the Advice of a wise Man, and remove im-
 “ mediately. You may return to the other
 “ Side of *Delaware* where you came from; but
 “ we do not know whether, considering how you
 “ have demeaned yourselves, you will be per-
 “ mitted to live there, or whether you have
 “ not swallowed that Land down your Throats
 “ as well as the Land on this Side. We there-
 “ fore

“fore assign you two Places to go, either to
 “*Wyomen* or *Shamokin*. You may go to either
 “of these Places, and then we shall have you
 “more under our Eye, and shall see how you
 “behave. Don’t deliberate, but remove away,
 “and take this Belt of Wampum.” After this
 he forbade them ever to intermeddle in Land
 Affairs, or ever hereafter to presume to sell any
 Land, and then commanded them, as he had
 something to transact with the *English*, imme-
 diately to depart the Council.—

This peremptory Command the *Delawares*
 did not dare to disobey. They therefore im-
 mediately left the Council, and soon after re-
 moved from the Forks; some to *Shamokin* and
Wyomen, and some to the *Okio*. But tho’ they
 did not then dare to dispute the Order, yet,
 when the present Troubles began, and they
 found the *French* ready to support them, they
 shewed this Province, as well as the Six Nations,
 how they resented the Treatment they met with
 in 1742. They took a severe Revenge on the
 Province, by laying Waste their Frontiers, and
 paid so little Regard to a menacing Message
 which the Six Nations sent them, that they in
 their Turn threatened to turn their Arms
 against them, and, at last, forced them to ac-
 knowledge they were Men, that is, a free in-
 dependent Nation.—

We see above, that great Strefs is laid on a
 Deed, said to be granted above fifty five Years
 ago. This is said to be the Deed of 1686.
 Yet, tho’ it is mentioned here as lying on the
 Table; nay, tho’ the *Indian* Speaker says, that
 he had seen it with his own Eyes, yet still it is
 doubted whether there really was such a Deed.
 It is certain there is none such now in being,
 nor recorded: For, at the Treaty at *Easton*,
 1757,

1757, when the *Indian* King demanded that the Deeds might be produced, by which the Proprietors held the Lands, and the Governor and his Council determined to follow the Course the Proprietor had chalked out, and to justify their Claims by the Deed of 1686, and the Release of 1737, they had no Deed of 1686 to produce: But, instead thereof, produced a Writing, said to be a Copy of that Deed, not attested, nor even signed by any one as a true Copy. From whence some have been ready to conclude, that the Charge brought by the *Indian* Chief, at the *Easton* Treaty in 1756, is not without Grounds; where he says, that some Lands were taken from him by Fraud and Forgery; and afterwards, when called upon to explain what he means by these Terms, says, “When one Man had formerly Liberty to
 “purchase Lands, and he took a Deed from
 “the *Indians* for it, and then dies; after his
 “Death the Children forge a Deed like the
 “true one, with the same *Indians* Names to it,
 “and thereby take Lands from the *Indians*
 “which they never sold.—This is Fraud.” It is farther asked, if there was such a Deed, why was it not recorded as well as the Release 1737 answering thereto?

It may not be amiss to observe here the different Manner in which the *English* and *French* treat the *Indians*. The *English*, in order to get their Lands, drive them as far from them as possible, nor seem to care what becomes of them, provided they can get them removed out of the Way of their present Settlements; whereas the *French*, considering that they can never want Land in *America*, who enjoy the Friendship of the *Indians*, use all the Means in their Power to draw as many into their Alliance

liance as possible; and, to secure their Affections, invite as many as can to come and live near them, and to make their Towns as near the *French* Settlements as they can. By this Means they have drawn off a great Number of the *Mohocks*, and other Six Nation Tribes, and having settled them in Towns along the Banks of the River *St. Lawrence*, have so secured them to their Interest, that, even of these, they can command above six or seven Hundred fighting Men, which is more than Colonel *Johnson* has, with all his Interest, been able to raise in all the northern District.

But to return: In this Treaty of 1742 the Deputies of the Six Nations themselves complain, that they are not well used with Respect to the Land still unfold by them. “Your People, say they to the Governor, daily settle on these Lands, and spoil our Hunting. We must insist on your removing them, as you know they have no Right to settle to the Northward of the *Kittoctinny* Hills. In particular we renew our Complaints against some People who are settled at *Juniata*, a Branch of *Susuehannah*, and all along the Banks of that River as far as *Mahaniay*, and desire they may forthwith be made to go off the Land, for they do great Damage to our Cousins the *Delawares*.” They likewise laid Claim to some Lands in *Maryland* and *Virginia*, which occasioned the Treaty at *Lancaster* in 1744.

With respect to the People settled at *Juniata* the Governor told the *Indians*, that “some Magistrates were sent expressly to remove them, and he thought no Persons would presume to stay after that.” Here they interrupt the Governor, and said, “These Persons who were sent do not do their Duty; so far
 “from

“from removing the People they made Sur-
 “veys for themselves, and they are in League
 “with the Trespassors; we desire more effectual
 “Methods may be used, and honefter Men
 “employed.” Which the Governor promised
 should be done.

Lancaster
 Treaty,
 1744.

In consequence of the Claims which the
Indians made to the Lands southward of this
 Province, Letters were wrote to the Governors
 of *Maryland* and *Virginia*, who shewed a ready
 Disposition to come to any reasonable Terms
 with the Six Nations on Account of these
 Lands, and desired for that End a Time and
 Place might be fixed for a Treaty with them.
 But before this could be effected an unfortunate
 Skirmish happened in the back Parts of *Virginia*
 between some of the Militia there and a Party
 of the *Indian* Warriors of the Six Nations. To
 mend this Breach the Governor of *Pensylvania*
 offered his Service, which was accepted by both
 Parties. Soon after *Conrad Weiser* was dispatch-
 ed to *Shamokin* where he met the Deputies from
Onondago, the grand Council of the Six Na-
 tions, who informed him that the Six Nations
 were well pleased with the Mediation of the
 Governor of *Pensylvania*, and that they would,
 in pursuance of the Invitation sent to them by
 the Governor of *Maryland*, meet him next
 Year. After this, the Deputy addressing him-
 self to the Governor of *Pensylvania*, desired,
 in the Name of the Six Nations, that the
 People who were settled on *Juniata* might be
 removed from thence. “We have, says he,
 “given the River *Juniata* for a Hunting-Place
 “to our Coufins the *Delaware Indians*, and
 “our Brethren the *Shawanese*, and we our-
 “selves hunt there sometimes. We there-
 “fore desire you will immediately by force
 “remove

“remove all those that live on the said River
“*Juniata*.”

Lancaster being agreed upon for the Place of Meeting the Deputies from the Six Nations and Commissioners from *Virginia* and *Maryland*, in *June* 1744, met at the Place appointed. The Governor of *Pensylvania* was also present.

In the Opening of the Treaty the *Indians* complain that they are liable to many Inconveniencies since the *English* came among them, and particularly from Pen and Ink Work, of which they gave the following Instance. “When, said “they, our Brother *Onas* (*i. e.* Governor “*Penn*) a great While ago came to *Albany* to “buy the *Susquebannab* Lands of us, our Brother the Governor of *New-York*, who, as we “suppose, had not a good Understanding with “our Brother *Onas*, advised us not to sell him “any Land, for he would make an ill Use of “it; and, pretending to be our Friend, he advised us, in order to prevent *Onas*’s, or any “other Persons, imposing on us, and that we “might always have our Land when we wanted “it, to put it into his Hands; and he told us “he would keep it for our Use, and never open “his Hands, but keep them close shut, and “not part with any of it, but at our Request. “Accordingly we trusted him, and put our “Lands into his Hands, and charged him to “keep them safe for our Use. But sometime “after he went to *England*, and carried our “Land with him, and there sold it to our “Brother *Onas* for a large Sum of Money: “And when, at the Instance of our Brother “*Onas*, we were minded to sell him some Lands, “he told us we had sold the *Susquebannab* Lands “already to the Governor of *New-York*, and “that he had bought them from him in *England*;
“tho,”

“tho’, when he came to understand how the
 “Governor of *New-York* had deceived us, he
 “very generously paid us for our Lands over
 “again.”

After this they proceed to shew the Grounds
 of their Claim to some Lands in *Virginia* and
Maryland. With respect to *Maryland* they ac-
 knowledge the Purchases which the *Marylanders*
 had made of the *Conestogo Indians* to be just and
 valid, but alledge that the Lands on *Potomack*,
 which they claim, are not comprised within those
 Deeds, and therefore remain to be purchased;
 and, as they have conquered the *Conestogoes*, they
 insist that the Purchases be made of them.
Canassatego, the *Indian* Speaker, farther said,
 “That, as the three Governors of *Virginia*,
 “*Maryland* and *Pensylvania* had divided the
 “Lands among them, they could not, for this
 “Reason, tell how much each had got, nor
 “were they concerned about it, so that they
 “were paid by all the Governors for the several
 “Parts each possessed, and this they left to
 “their Honor and Justice.”

The Commissioners of *Maryland*, in answer
 to this, say, “That, tho’ they cannot admit
 their Right, yet they are so resolved to live in
 brotherly Love and Affection with the Six Na-
 tions, that, if they will give a Release in Writing
 of all their Claims to any Lands in *Maryland*,
 they will make them a Compensation to the
 Value of three Hundred Pounds Currency.”
 To this the Deputies of the Six Nations agreed,
 and a Deed of Release was made out accord-
 ingly. The Lands in *Virginia*, which the *Indians*
 claimed, lay to the South of *Potomack*, and west-
 ward of a high Ridge of Mountains that ex-
 tended along the Frontier-Settlements of *Vir-*
ginia. The Commissioners of *Virginia*, after
 disputing

disputing the Rights and Claims of the Six Nations, offer them a Quantity of Goods to the Value of two Hundred Pounds *Pensylvania* Currency, and two Hundred Pounds in Gold, on Condition they immediately make a Deed recognizing the King's Right to all the Lands that are, or shall be, by his Majesty's Appointment, in the Colony of *Virginia*. The *Indians* agreed to this, only desiring that their Case might be represented to the King, in order to have a further Consideration when the Settlements encreased much further back. To which the Commissioners agreed; and, for a further Security that they would make the Representation to the King, they promised to give the Deputies a Writing under their Hands and Seals to that Purpose. Accordingly the Deed was signed and every Thing settled to mutual Satisfaction.

At this Treaty the *Indian* Deputies tell the Governor of *Pensylvania*, that the *Conoy* (called in former Treaties *Ganaway*) *Indians* had informed them, that they had sent him a Message some Time ago, to advise him, that they were ill used by the white People in the Place where they had lived, and that they had come to a Resolution of removing to *Shamokin*, and requested some small Satisfaction for their Land; and, as they never had received any Answer from him, they desired the Six Nations to speak for them. They therefore recommended their Case to his Generosity.

To this the Governor answered, That he well remembered the coming down of one of the *Conoy Indians* with a Paper, setting forth, that the *Conoys* had come to a Resolution to leave the Land reserved for them by the Proprietaries, but that he made no Complaint of
ill

ill Usage from the white People. The Governor farther said, that he had not yet heard from the Proprietors on that Head, but from the Favour and Justice they had always shewn to the *Indians*, they may be assured the Proprietors will do every Thing that can be reasonably expected from them in that Case.

Some Time before this Treaty one *John Armstrong*, an *Indian* Trader, and two of his Men, had been murdered by a *Delaware Indian*, and his Goods carried off. There were three *Indians* present, but only one had committed the Murder. Upon this *Shecalamy*, and the *Shamokin Indians*, had two of the three apprehended and sent down to the *English*; but the *Indians*, who had them in Charge, finding one was innocent, gave him an Opportunity to escape: The other was carried to *Philadelphia* and put in Prison. The Governor, therefore, now informing the Six Nation Deputies of what had been done, desired them to use their Authority, that the two other *Indians*, who were present at the Murder, should be seized and delivered up to be tried with the Principal now in Custody, and he promised, that if, upon Examination, they were found innocent, they should be sent home safe. The *Indians*, in answer, told the Governor, they had heard of what was done, and in their Journey here had a Conference with the *Delawares* about it, and reproved them severely for it: They promised farther, upon their Return, to renew their Reproofs, and to charge the *Delawares* to send down some of their Chiefs with these two young Men (but not as Prisoners) to be examined by him, and said, that, as they thought, upon Examination, he would not find them guilty, they relied on his Justice, not to do them
any

any Harm, but to permit them to return in Safety.

Accordingly some of the *Delaware* Chiefs came down to *Philadelphia* in *October* following, and brought with them the two young Men, who, being examined and found innocent, were dismissed.

By the Message which the Governor sent to the Assembly immediately upon his Return from *Lancaster*, it appears, “that the *Shawanese* had been endeavouring to draw the *Delawares* from *Shamokin* to *Ohio*, and that it was whispered among the Six Nations, that, should they be obliged to take Part in the War between the *English* and *French*, they would have the *Shawanese*, and perhaps the *Delawares* also, to oppose them.” This shews there were some Heart-Burnings between the *Delawares* and Six Nations notwithstanding the outward Shew of Friendship, and that the former only wanted a favourable Opportunity to throw off the Yoke, as they have done since, and to revenge the Insults that had been offered them at *Philadelphia* but two Years before.

There is one Paragraph in the Governor’s Message which deserves to be strictly attended to. “I cannot, says he, but be apprehensive “that the *Indian* Trade, as it is now carried “on, will involve us in some fatal Quarrel “with the *Indians*. Our Traders, in Defiance “of the Law, carry spirituous Liquors among “them, and take the Advantage of their inordinate Appetite for it to cheat them of their “Skins and their Wampum, which is their “Money, and often to debauch their Wives “into the Bargain. Is it to be wondered at “then, if, when they recover from their drunken Fit, they should take some severe Re-
“venges.

Votes of
the Assembly,
Vol.
III. p.
555.

“venges. If I am rightly informed, the like
 “Abuses of the Traders in *New-England* were
 “the principal Causes of the *Indian* Wars there,
 “and at length obliged the Government to
 “take the Trade into their own Hands. This
 “is a Matter that well deserves your Atten-
 “tion, and perhaps will soon require your
 “Imitation.”

It would be too shocking to describe the Conduct and Behaviour of the Traders, when among the *Indians*, and endless to enumerate the Abuses the *Indians* had received and borne from them for a Series of Years. Suffice it to say, that several of the Tribes were at last weary of bearing. And as these Traders were the Persons who were, in some Sort, the Representatives of the *English* among the *Indians*, and by whom they were to judge of our Manners and Religion, they conceived such invincible Prejudices against both, particularly against our holy Religion, that when Mr. *Sergeant*, a Gentleman in *New-England*, took a Journey in 1741 to the *Shawanese*, and some other Tribes, living on *Susquehannab*, and offered to instruct them in the Christian Religion, they rejected his Offer with Disdain. They reproached Christianity. They told him the Traders would lie, cheat, and debauch their Women, and even their Wives, if their Husbands were not at home. They said farther, that the *Senecas* had given them their Country, but charged them withal never to receive Christianity from the *English*.

Hopkin's
 Memoirs
 relating
 to the
 Houfatun-
 nuk Indi-
 ans. P. 90,
 &c.

The Treaty of 1747, held at *Philadelphia* with the *Ohio Indians*, at which they complained of the *English* for having engaged them in a War with the *French*, and then left them to fight it out themselves; as well as the *Lancaster*
 Treaty

Treaty of 1748, at which the *Twightwees*, a powerful Nation westward of the *Ohio*, entered into an Alliance with the *English*; we shall pass over and proceed to that of 1749, held at *Philadelphia* with some Deputies from the *Senecas*. These had been sent to meet some other Chiefs from each of the Six Nations, who had been appointed by the grand Council at *Onondago* to go to *Philadelphia* on some Affairs of importance. Coming at the Time appointed to the Place of Rendezvous, and having there, for some Time, in vain waited the Arrival of the other Deputies, they agreed to proceed by themselves to *Philadelphia*. “One of the most
 “considerable Points (says their Speaker to the
 “Governor) which induced the Council to send
 “Deputies at this Time, was, that they had
 “heard the white People had begun to settle
 “on their Side the blue Mountains, and we,
 “the Deputies of the *Senecas*, staying so long
 “at *Wyomen*, had an Opportunity of enquiring
 “into the Truth of this Information, and to
 “our Surprise found the Story confirmed, with
 “this Addition, that even this Spring, since
 “the Governor’s Arrival, Numbers of Families were beginning to make Settlements. As
 “our Boundaries are so well known, and so
 “remarkably distinguished by a Range of high
 “Mountains, we could not suppose this could
 “be done by Mistake, but that either it must
 “be done wickedly by bad People without the
 “Knowledge of the Government, or that the
 “new Governor has brought some Instructions
 “from the King or the Proprietaries relating
 “to this Affair, whereby we are like to be much
 “hurt. The Governor will be pleased to tell
 “us, whether he has brought any Orders from
 “the King or the Proprietaries for these People
 “to

“to settle on our Lands; and, if not, we earnestly desire they may be made to remove instantly with all their Effects *to prevent the sad Consequences which will otherwise ensue.*”

These Deputies also renew the Demands of the *Conoy Indians* for some Satisfaction on Account of the Land they had left when they went to settle on *Juniata*. We see the *Indians* don't easily give up a Right; these *Conoys* had engaged the Deputies of the Six Nations to represent their Case to Governor *Thomas*, who told them he had not heard from the Proprietors on this Head, but that they might be assured the Proprietors would do every Thing that could reasonably be expected from them: Now they get the *Senecas* to renew their Demand to Governor *Hamilton*.

In answer to the Speech of the *Indian Chief*, the Governor acknowledges, “That the People's settling on *Juniata* was contrary to the Engagements of this Government to the *Indians*; that he had received no Orders from his Majesty or the Proprietaries in Favour of them; that they had no Countenance from the Government, and that no Endeavours should be wanting on his Part to bring the Offenders to Justice, and to prevent all future Cause of Complaint.” With respect to the *Conoys* he lets them know, that he was informed by the Proprietary Officers, that this Land, for which the *Conoys* demand Satisfaction, was not reserved out of the Grant of the Lands sold by the Six Nations; that their living there was only a Favour or Indulgence of the Proprietor; besides, he told the Deputies that the Six Nations had frequently desired the Proprietaries not to give Money to any tributary Nations for Land, and as these *Conoys* are such, they would have

Reason

Reason to find Fault with the Proprietaries, should they pay any Thing, especially as they have already given to the Six Nations a valuable Consideration. Thus, rather than part with a few Pounds, they would lose the Affections of an *Indian* Tribe.

At the Departure of these Deputies the Governor, considering that the Province had been put to some Expence by them, told them, if they met the other Deputies, to inform them what they had done here, and persuade them to return. Accordingly the *Senecas*, upon their Return meeting the other Deputies, informed them as the Governor desired. However they determined to proceed to *Philadelphia*, and obliged the *Senecas* to return with them. Upon hearing this the Governor sent an Express to *Conrad Weiser*, the Provincial Interpreter, desiring him “to try all possible Methods to divert them from proceeding on their Journey.” Hereupon *Conrad Weiser* immediately set out to meet them, and was surprized to see above 200 mostly men. He stood at a Distance like a Stranger for above a Quarter of an Hour, to signify that he was not well pleased; at last he was obliged to shake Hands with some of them. He then sat down with *Canassatego*, the Chief Speaker, and asked him where he was going with such a Number of *Indians*. *Canassatego* told him, he could not be at a Loss to know where they were going after receiving the Message he had sent him. Mr. *Weiser* replied, that when that Message was sent he had not met the *Seneca* Chiefs, who having been at *Philadelphia*, and performed what was to be done, rendered his Journey thither needless. *Canassatego*’s Answer was, “That he had since met the *Seneca* Chiefs, and had brought them back with him; that

C. Weiser’s Letters to Secretary Peters, Aug. 6, 1749.

that all was not done that ought to have been done, and that as he had come so far with the Deputies of the Six united Nations, he could not return before he had been in *Philadelphia*. *C. Weiser* told him, he might have left the *Shamokin* and other *Susquehanna* Indians behind. The Day following he had another Conference with *Canassatego* and others, in which he told them, he thought it imprudent for them to go to *Philadelphia* with such a Number of People, who had no Business there but to get drunk; that, as their Number was so great, they could not expect to get Victuals enough; that, among white People, every Thing was sold, and the Money, wherewith Provisions were bought, was a free Gift of the Inhabitants; and that, as the *Seneca* Deputies had been down with a good Number of other *Indians* not long ago, and had cost a great deal of Money, he thought their going was needless, at least that they must not expect any Presents unless they had something else to do which he did not know; that they remembered very well when they were down formerly they were sent for; and when they received large Presents it was for some Land which the Proprietors then paid for; that their Case was otherwise now, and that they ought to know that the great Number of good for nothing People with them made their Case worse."

By this Speech he says he believed he had offended the *Indians* much. This is not to be wondered at; the *Indians* were very sensible of the Service they had done to the *English* during the late War with the *French*; that they had served them instead of Forts and Guards against the Incursions of the *French* and their *Indians*: How must it then displease them

them at the Cloſe of the War to meet with ſuch a Reception !

In conſequence of this Speech the *Indian* Chiefs immediately held a Council, where they debated a conſiderable Time what to do; ſome propoſed to go home again. However, at laſt, notwithſtanding all that *C. Weiſer* could ſay to the contrary, it was agreed to proceed. Accordingly the Deputies of the Six Nation, accompanied with ſome *Mohickans*, *Tutelas*, *Delawares* and *Nanticokes*, in all to the Number of 280, ſet forward, and arrived in *Philadelphia* about the 14th or 15th of *Auguſt* 1749. On their Arrival the Governor paid them a Viſit, and on the 16th day of the Month being appointed for a public Conference, they met, and all having taken their Seats, *Canaffatego* the chief Speaker aroſe, and addreſſing himſelf to the Governor and Council, and all the People of *Penſylvania*, put them in Mind of the Friendſhip that had long ſubſiſted between the *Engliſh* and the *Indians*; that by the Treaties a good Road was eſtabliſhed between us and them; that, by Reaſon of the War, they had not for ſome Time uſed that Road, but were now come to pay us a Viſit; that it was their Cuſtom, after a long Time, to renew their Leagues, or, as they ſay, to brighten the Chain of Friendſhip; that this was neceſſary now, as they had ſomething to communicate of a diſagreeable Nature: After this he takes Notice, that the *Indians* were a Frontier-Country between our Enemy and us, ſo that they had been our Guard, and Things had been managed ſo well as to keep the War from our Doors; that tho' they had been expoſed to many Calamities, and Blood had been ſhed among them, yet they did not trouble us with any Account of their
Hardſhips

Hardships during all this War, and that nothing that had happened had lessened their Affection for us; that having now Leisure they were come to pay a brotherly Visit, and hoped their coming would be agreeable. Then addressing the Governor and Council only, he says, "By Treaties all white People were to
 "have been hindered from settling the Lands
 "not purchased of us, or if they should make
 "any Settlement, as they might at such a Distance from you without your knowing of it,
 "you engaged to remove them, when discovered. Notwithstanding your Engagements
 "many People have settled on the East-side
 "of *Susquehannah*, and tho' you may have done
 "your Endeavours to remove them, yet we see
 "these have been without Effect, and that white
 "People are no more obedient to you than
 "our young *Indians* are to us; and since it may
 "now be attended with a great deal of Trouble,
 "we have taken this Thing into our Consideration, having, while we were on our Journey, observed your People's Settlements, and
 "are willing to give up the Lands on the East-side of *Susquehannah*, from the blue Hills to
 "where *Thomas Magee* the *Indian* Trader lives,
 "and leave it to you to assign the Worth of
 "them." But at the same Time they express a Willingness to dispose of the Lands eastward of *Susquehannah*, they insist with more Earnestness that the People should be removed from the unpurchased Land westward of that River. They let the Governor know they had seen some Papers which were interpreted to them to be Orders for these People to remove in consequence of the Complaints made by the Deputies of the *Seneca* Nations: They thank him for taking Notice of the Complaints, and for
 taking

taking Measures to turn off the People: but told him, they were apprehensive that no better Effects would follow these than former Ones of the same Nature; “If that should be the Case we must, said they, insist on it, that as this is on the Hunting-Ground of our Cousins the *Nanticokes*, and other *Indians*, living on the Waters of *Juniata*, you use more vigorous Measures, and forcibly remove them.” After this they inform the Governor, that one of their young Warriors, *Canassatego*’s Nephew, had been lately murdered, and press him in strong Terms to examine carefully into the Truth how this Warrior came by his Death, and to judge impartially without Favour or Affection to his own People.

In answer to this the Governor thanks them for their firm Adherence to the Interest of his Majesty during the War, and for the particular Declaration of Regard they had expressed for the People of this Province. He lets them know that their Visit was taken kindly, and as a Proof of this, that a handsome Present was provided for them. Having answered what concerned the Public, he proceeded to speak to that which was addressed to himself and the Council, and says, “Brethren, we have taken into Consideration your Offer of some Lands lying on the East-side of *Susquebanna*; and tho’ we have no Directions from the Proprietaries, who are now in *England*, to treat with you for Lands, yet, as we judged it for their Benefit, and for the public Good, not to reject the Offer you have thought proper to make, we sent you Word by the Interpreter that we would treat with you about a new Purchase, but, at the same Time, we gave you to understand that we could by no Means

“ Means accede to your Propofal in the Man-
 “ ner you limited it, viz. to the Lands lying
 “ on the Eaft-side of *Susquebannab* as far as
 “ *Thomas Magee*’s, becaufe you muft be fenfi-
 “ ble, that as the Head of the River *Schuykill*
 “ lies not far from the *Susquebannab*, and not
 “ far from the Head of *Schuykill* there runs
 “ one of the main Branches of the River *Del-*
 “ *ware*; and that the *Delaware Indians*, in their
 “ laft Treaty, had granted the Lands from this
 “ Branch to very near the *Lechawachsein* on
 “ *Delaware*; I fay, confidering all thefe Things
 “ which were explained to you on a Draught,
 “ by which it appeared that all you offer is
 “ mountainous, broken and poor Land, you
 “ muft know that this is not worth our Accep-
 “ tance; but we added, if you would extend
 “ your Offer to go more northerly on *Susque-*
 “ *bannab* as far as *Shamokin*, and that the Tract
 “ might carry its Breadth to *Delaware* River,
 “ fo that we could in any Manner juftify our-
 “ selves to the Proprietaries, we would clofe
 “ and give you a juft Confideration for the
 “ Lands. On this you held a Council and made
 “ us a fecond Offer, that you would fign a
 “ Deed to the Proprietaries for all that Tract
 “ of Land that lies within the following Bounds,
 “ viz. beginning at *Kittochtinny* Hills where our
 “ laft Purchase ends on *Susquebannab*, from
 “ thence by the Courfes of the River *Susque-*
 “ *bannab* to the firft Mountain north of the
 “ Creek called in the *Onondago* Language *Can-*
 “ *tawgby*, and in the *Delaware* Language *Mag-*
 “ *booniaby*, on the faid River *Susquebannab*:
 “ This is the western Boundary. Then for
 “ the north Boundary, by a ftraight Line to
 “ be run from that Mountain to the main
 “ Branch of *Delaware* River at the north Side
 “ of

“ of the Mouth of *Lechawachsein*, so as to take
 “ in the Waters of *Lechawachsein*. The east
 “ Boundary to be the River *Delaware* from
 “ the North of the *Vishkill* to the *Kittochtinny*
 “ Hills. The South Boundary to be the
 “ Range of the *Kittochtinny* Hills to the Place
 “ of beginning; together with the Islands in
 “ the Rivers of *Susquehannab* and *Delaware* in
 “ that Compass. Having received this second
 “ Offer, tho’ neither in this is there any con-
 “ siderable Quantity of good Land, yet, in re-
 “ gard to your Poverty, more than to the real
 “ Value of the Tract, we sent you Word, that,
 “ on your signing a Deed, we would pay you
 “ the Sum of five Hundred Pounds.”

As to the People settled on *Juniata* the Go-
 vernor lets the *Indians* know, that it will be no
 difficult Matter to remove these Intruders, if
 some of the *Indians* do not give them Counte-
 nance; that not above four or five Years ago
 they had all been removed from *Juniata*, nor
 would any have presumed to go there since,
 had they not been favoured by some *Indians*.
 He instances to them some *Indians* objecting
 about a Year before to the Removal of the
 white People settled on the Path leading to
Allegheny, and tells them that they must not
 defend, nor invite back, the People that are
 turned off; and on his Part assures them that
 he will cause the People to remove. With re-
 gard to the *Indian* that was murdered, he in-
 forms them, that he had already caused a full
 and impartial Enquiry to be made how he
 came by his Death, and that the most proba-
 ble Conjecture that could be formed was, that
 the Murder was committed by some of the *In-*
dian’s own Comrades; that Mr. *Croghan*, the
 Magistrate before whom the Matter was laid,
 would

would have examined the *Indians*, but they would not submit to it, and one of them in particular ran away; that, however, the white People, at whose House the *Indians* got Liquor, were all bound over to Court, and if it appeared that they, or any others, were concerned in the Murder, they should suffer as if they had killed a white Man. After several Conferences with the Chiefs of the *Indians* concerning the new Purchase of Lands, (of which no Minutes are published) the Limits were at length agreed to by both Sides, and the Consideration Money paid, whereupon the *Indians* executed a Deed for the same.

Whether this Sale of Lands was a Thing agreed upon in the Council at *Onondago*, or whether these Deputies, upon finding their Visit was not like to be agreeable, and that they were to expect no Present without a Sale of some Land, might not, without any particular Orders to that Purpose, undertake of themselves to make this Sale, shall at present be passed over. Nor shall we insist upon what *Canassatego*, in the Name of the Six Nations, declares in the Treaty in 1742, *viz. That after that Time they would sell no Lands but when their Brother Onas was in the Country, and they would know beforehand the Quantity of Goods they were to receive*: They might change their Minds. But, as this Purchase of 1749 is the last which the Proprietaries, or their Agents, have made of the *Indians*, on the east Side of *Susquehanna*, it may not be improper to stop here a little, and collect into one View what relates to the Lands on that Side, in order that we may see whether there be any just Grounds for the Complaints which the *Delaware Indians* lately made of their being cheated out of their Lands.

It is true, as the *Indians* have no Writings, nor Records among them, save their Memories and Belts of Wampum, we can only have Recourse to the Minutes taken, and Records kept, by one Party, nay, oftentimes, by those who, if any advantage was taken of the *Indians*, must have been concerned in it, and consequently would not care, by minuting every Thing truly, to perpetuate their own Disgrace.

In 1718 we find that an Enquiry was made into Land Affairs by the Proprietary Commissioners and the *Delaware Indian* Chiefs; that the old Deeds were carefully inspected, the Bounds of the Purchases made of the *Indians* at sundry Times fully ascertained; and, to put an End to all Doubts and Disputes for the future, a Deed of Confirmation granted by the *Indians* for all the Lands they had heretofore sold the Proprietaries, namely from *Duck Creek* to the *Lechay Hills* which are southward of the Forks of *Delaware*. In 1722 a Settlement is made at *Tulpyhockin*: In 1728 the *Indians* at a public Treaty complain of it as being on their Land. Upon Examination, and referring back to the foregoing Deed, it is found to be as they say, and they are requested not to molest or injure the People seated there, but to wait till that Matter could be adjusted. Thus the Matter rested till the Proprietor came over in 1732, when this Tract of Land was purchased of the *Indians*. But tho' the Purchases which the Proprietaries had made of the *Indians* were still (except at *Tulpyhockin*) bounded by the *Lechay Hills*, one Gentleman having purchased a Right to 10,000 Acres of unlocated* Lands,

* *i.e.* Land in general, the Place or Places where the Right is to be laid among the vacant Lands in the Wilderness, not being yet chosen, nor ascertained by any Survey.
found

found Means to have a Part of these located in the Forks above 30 Miles above the Boundaries in the *Indian* Country. Encouraged by his Example, many others soon after entered, and possessed themselves of the adjacent Country. Of this the *Indians* complained; but instead of paying any Regard to their Complaints a Lottery of Land was set on Foot by the Proprietor in 1734, whereby the greatest Part of the Fork Lands, then full of *Indian* Settlements, were offered to Sale. In the mean Time, to amuse the *Indians*, several Conferences are held with some of their Chiefs, *viz.* one at *Durham*, one at *Pensbury*, and one at *Philadelphia*; but as no Minutes of these Conferences were ever published, and if any were taken, were only entered in the Council Books, to which Access is denied, we should have been at a Loss to know what was there debated and transacted, were it not for a Release granted at the last of these Conferences. In the Preamble of this we are informed, that the Affair of Lands was the Subject of these Conferences; that the Proprietor, in order to settle Matters with the *Indians*, had Recourse, not, as had been done before, to the Deed of 1718, which would have clearly determined the Boundaries between him and the *Indians*, but to a Writing which was produced as a Deed granted by their Forefathers to *William Penn* in 1686; and, to prove the Validity of this, the Evidence of two Persons is taken, who solemnly declared, not that they had seen such a Deed executed, and that this was the very Deed, but that they remembered there was a Treaty held at that Time between the *Indians* and the Agents of *William Penn*. By the Recitals in the Preamble it would appear as if the Deed of 1686 itself had been shewn to the *Indians*,

dians, and that the Proprietor had waited patiently till the *Indians* were satisfied of the Truth of it. But the contrary is notorious: For the People, during these Conferences, were settling thick in the Forks, and as to the Deed it is clear there was none shewn. However, the *Indians* being made to believe, that their Forefathers had granted such a Deed, were induced, without any farther Consideration, to sign a Release answering thereto. There is some Reason to think that the Six Nations had, by their Authority, forced them into this Measure. The Year before, their Deputies had been at *Philadelphia*, and sold the Lands on *Susquehannah*, for which they had received a large Quantity of Goods, and besides a considerable Present. At this Time Complaints were made to them against the *Delawares*, for giving the Province Disturbance about Lands, which, as was said, the Proprietor had purchased from them, and paid for, above 55 Years ago. On their Return home the Deputies, loaded with Presents, passed thro' the *Delaware* Country, and the next Spring some of the *Delawares* came down and signed the Release mentioned above. As the Land granted by this Release was to be measured by a Day and half's Walk, the Proprietor got Men noted for walking, had a Road prepared and laid out with the Compass, and Horses provided to carry them over Rivers, by which Means they were enabled to travel over a prodigious Extent of Country. Nor was the Extent of the Purchase determined by the Journey, which the two Men performed who were first fixed on, but by that of another, who knowing himself capable of performing a great Journey, had, in order to ingratiate himself with the Proprietor, joined the other two, and travelled
about

about fix Miles farther than any of them. And, what is ftill more, from the End of the Walk, inftead of drawing a Line by the neareft Courfe to the River *Delaware*, or parallel to that from which they fet out, they run a North-Eaft Courfe to near the Mouth of the *Lechawachfein*, and by this Means the Boundary Line was carried many Miles beyond the *Lechay* Hills, and took in many Hundred Thoufand Acres more than it ought to have done. The *Indians* immediately faw and complained of the Fraud, nor would they give up their Claim, and relinquish their Land, till forced thereto, as we have feen above, by the Six Nation Deputies in 1742. With refpect to the Purchase of 1749, it is to be obferved, the Deputies of the Six Nations at firft of themfelves only offer to fell the Lands on the Eaft Side of *Sufquehannab*. They never feem to have claimed a Right to fell the Lands on *Delaware*. It is true, fourteen Days after the Deed of 1736 was granted, a few of the *Indians* who remained in Town were drawn in to fign a Writing, declaring that they meant to extend the Grant to *Delaware*; but this was not an Act of the whole, nor was any Confideration paid, and every Circumftance confidered, or only this one, *viz.* how *Indians* commonly debauch themfelves with Liquor, after they think publick Bufinefs is over, it may be faid this was done in a Manner not the fartheft removed from all Suspicion of Chicanery. But, however that be, we never find the Six Nations objected to the Sales formerly made by the *Delawares*. At prefent, as the Proprietary Officers would not buy unlefs the Tract extended to the *Delaware*, the *Indians* we are told, after holding a Council, agree it fhall extend fo far: And, no doubt, it was to give a Sanction to the Sale that

Nutimus

Nutimus and *Qualpagbach*, two *Delaware* Chiefs, were made Parties in the Deed, and drawn in to sign it. But how far an Action, done thro' Compulsion, binds them, or admitting the Action voluntary, yet how far, even in that Case, it would bind a Nation, whose Form of Government is such, that nothing is deemed valid, but what is deliberated and agreed upon in their publick Councils, is easily determined. Again, if it was necessary to make some of the *Delawares* Parties to the Deed, why were not some of the *Munsey* or *Minisink Indians* also taken in? A large Part of their Country was included in this Grant, yet they are never consulted, not a Deputy is present from their Nation.—

Such are the Facts; each one of them can be proved by publick Records or living Witnesses: Whether then the Complaints of King *Teedyuscung*, who, in a publick Capacity, represents the several Tribes of the *Delawares*, as well as the *Munseys*, &c. who have of late united in one League, and chosen him for their Head; that is, whether the Complaints of all, or any, of these Tribes or Nations of *Indians*, have any just Foundation, let the World judge.—

But to return from this Digression. As the People who had settled on the Lands unpurchased of the Six Nations did not pay Regard to the Governor's Proclamation, it was judged proper to put the Law strictly in Execution against them, and for that Purpose Secretary *Peters* was sent up in *May* 1750. "On his Way he met with some *Indians*, to whom he imparted his Business: They told him, they were exceedingly pleased to hear he was going to remove those People; that it was an Affair the Council of *Onondago* or the Six Nations had very much at Heart, but they were afraid this would

Mr. Peters's Report to the Governor.

would prove like former Attempts; the People would be put off now, and next Year come again; if so, they said the Six Nations would no longer bear it, but would do themselves Justice. After this Mr. *Peters* proceeded, and being accompanied with those *Indians*, broke up the Settlements in *Sherman's* Valley, on *Juniata*, at *Aucquick* (alias *Augbwick*) in the Path Valley and Big Cove, which all lie beyond the *Kittochtinny* Hills, every where dispossessing the People, taking Possession for the Proprietors, and burning the most ordinary Houses and Cabbins. The People of the Little Cove, which was a Part of the unpurchased Lands just on the Borders of *Maryland*, presented him a Petition, addressed to the Governor, praying that they might be allowed to remain there till a Purchase was made of the Lands from the *Indians*. As but few had signed the Petition, he returned it to those who presented it, telling them, when it was signed by more, if it should appear to him that they were North of the temporary Line (*i. e.* in the Bounds of *Pensylvania*) he would recommend their Case to the Governor." Strange! that he who was sent up to remove those People who were settled on the *Indians* Land, who knew so well how much the *Indians* were irritated at People's settling there, and how warmly they remonstrated against it, nay, who seemed convinced of (and as he himself declares proceeded on) "this as a certain Truth, That, if he did not at this Journey entirely remove these People, it would not be in the Power of the Government to prevent an *Indian* War,"—that, after this, he should undertake to be an Intercessor for such Intruders, or, he says himself, to recommend their Case to the Governor! But the *Indians* before observed, that Persons
sent

sent on that Errand had not been remarkable for doing their Duty; that so far from removing the People, they made Surveys for themselves, and were in League with the Trespassers.

By the Message which the Governor sent to the Assembly with Mr. *Peters's* Report, it appears that what had been done was like to be of little Avail, and that there would be an absolute Necessity of taking still farther Measures against these Intruders. In short, so little Effect had this, that those who had been spared were spirited up to stay, and others went and settled by them, so that in a few Years the Settlements in the *Indian* Country were more numerous, and farther extended than ever.

In 1753, when the *French* came with an armed Force to take Possession of the Lands on the *Ohio*, and to build a Fort, the Six Nation *Indians*, with the *Shawanese* and *Delawares* on the *Ohio*, seemed very much alarmed, and resolved at all Events to oppose them. Upon first hearing of their coming, they had twice sent Orders to the *French* not to proceed; but finding their Messages had not the desired Effect, they agreed to divide themselves into two Parties, one to go to *Virginia* and *Pensylvania* to request Assistance, and the other to the *French* Commander, with express Orders to quit their Country, otherwise they would declare War against him.

The first Party, having transacted their Business with the Governor of *Virginia*, set forward ^{Treaty at} Carlisle, for *Pensylvania*, and were met at *Carlisle* by Com- ^{1753.}missioners appointed by Governor *Hamilton* to treat with them. At this Time they desire that *Pensylvania* and *Virginia* would forbear settling on the *Indian* Lands over the *Allegheny* Hills; so far had People got, tho' as yet no Purchase was made beyond the *Kittochtinny* Mountains.

They advise these Governments to call back their People on this Side the Hills. They don't use Threats as had been done before. The Times were critical, and the *Indians* were unwilling to say or do any Thing from which the *English* might have Room to suspect their Friendship. What, therefore, at another Time, they would have insisted on in a peremptory Manner, and if we may judge from their former Conduct, enforced with Threats, they now only advise from prudential Motives, and seemingly out of Regard to us, "lest (as they say) Damage should be done, and we should think ill of them." They expressly desire that no People should be allowed to settle on the *Juniata* Lands till Matters are settled between them and the *French*.

After this, desiring the Commissioners to give strict Attention to what they are going to say, as being a Matter of great Moment, they proceed to take Notice, "That our *Indian* Traders are too numerous and scattered; that the *French* look on their Number at *Ohio* with Envy; they, therefore, desired that the greatest Part of them might be called home, and that three Setts only might remain at the Places which they had appointed for their Residence, viz. *Log's-Town*, the Mouth of *Canawa*, and the Mouth of the *Monongahela*; there, they said, they would protect them, and to these Places they would go and buy Goods, and no where else." This was what the *Indians* had long in View. They were sensible of their own Weakness, and immoderate Desire of strong Drink, by which they exposed themselves to many Abuses and Inconveniencies. They had frequently complained to the *English* Governments, and desired that some Measures might be taken
to

to prevent Liquors being carried among them in such Quantities, but nothing was done to Purpose: They were told indeed, they might break the Casks, and spill all the Liquor that was brought among them, but this they found by Experience would not do: The Rum-Carriers, as they called the Traders, found Means to elude this. As long, therefore, as these Persons were permitted to go into their Country, they saw clearly that no Remedies could be found out to prevent the Evil they complained of. For this Reason, in 1736, they desired the Traders might be recalled from the *Ohio*, and confined to some one Place on *Susquehanna*: At the subsequent Treaties they renewed this Request, and now fix upon three Places for the Traders to reside, and request that none but honest and sober Men may be suffered to deal with them.

Had this been complied with, the *English* might easily have engrossed the Trade, and secured the Affections, of many of the *Indian* Nations; whereas, by neglecting this, and suffering a Parcel of Banditti, under the Character of Traders, to run up and down from one *Indian* Town to another, cheating and debauching the *Indians*, we have given them an ill Opinion of our Religion and Manners, and lost their Esteem and Friendship.

With what Earnestness the *Indians* desired to have the Trade regulated may be seen from the Speech of the *Indian* Chief to the Commissioners; “Your Traders, says he, bring scarce any
 “ Thing but Rum and Flour: They bring little
 “ Powder and Lead, or other valuable Goods.
 “ The Rum ruins us. We beg you would pre-
 “ vent its coming in such Quantities by regu-
 “ lating the Traders. We never understood the
 “ Trade

“ Trade was to be for Whisky and Flour. We
 “ desire it may be forbidden, and none sold in
 “ the *Indian* Country; but that, if the *Indians*
 “ will have any, they may go among the In-
 “ habitants and deal with them for it. When
 “ these Whisky-Traders come, they bring thirty
 “ or forty Cags, and put them down before us,
 “ and make us drink, and get all the Skins that
 “ should go to pay the Debts we have contracted
 “ for Goods bought of the fair Traders, and by
 “ this Means we not only ruin ourselves but
 “ them too. These wicked Whisky-Sellers,
 “ when they have got the *Indians* in Liquor,
 “ make them sell the very Cloaths from their
 “ Backs. In short, if this Practice be continued,
 “ we must be inevitably ruined. We most earn-
 “ estly, therefore, beseech you to remedy it.”

The Commissioners, not having a Power to
 remedy these Disorders, promised to lay them
 before the Governor, and represent to him the
 Necessity of those Regulations which the *Indians*
 desired should be made. This they accordingly
 did: But, as usual, nothing more was done
 therein.

The Assembly of the Province, after reading
 the above Treaty, and examining several Papers
 and Evidences about *Indian* Affairs, “ bewail
 “ the miserable Situation of our *Indian* Trade
 “ carried on (some few excepted) by the vilest
 “ of our own Inhabitants and Convicts import-
 “ ed from *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, by which
 “ Means the *English* Nation is unhappily re-
 “ presented among our *Indian* Allies in the most
 “ disagreeable Manner. These, continue they,
 “ trade without Controul, either beyond the
 “ Limits, or, at least, beyond the Power of our
 “ Laws, debauching the *Indians* and themselves
 “ with spirituous Liquors, which they now
 “ make

“make, in a great Measure, the principal
 “Article of their Trade, in direct Violation of
 “our Laws, supplied, as we are informed, by
 “some of the Magistrates, who hold a Com-
 “mission under this Government, and other
 “Inhabitants of our back Counties.” Message
 to the Governor, *February 27, 1754.*

In the Treaty of *Carlisle* we find Mention made of some *Shawanese* being made Prisoners, and confined in *Charles-Town*; to sollicit the Release of whom, *Scarroyady*, the principal *Sachem*, was deputed, and had undertaken to go to *Carolina*: But, as the Commissioners thought that his Presence was very necessary at the *Ohio*, they advised him to return, letting him know, that the Release of the Prisoners would be sooner and more effectually procured by the Interposition of the Governors of *Virginia* and *Pensylvania*, to whom they would recommend it, than by his personal Solicitation. This was agreed to.—

The next Summer, by an Order from *England*, a grand Treaty was held with the Six Nations at *Albany*, at which were present Commissioners from most of the Provinces on the Continent. At this Time a Purchase of Lands was made for the Proprietors of *Pensylvania*, which ruined our Interest with the *Indians*, and threw those of them, especially to the westward of us, entirely into the Hands of the *French*. It was bounded northerly by a North-West by West Line, drawn from near *Shamokin* to Lake *Erie*, and to the West and South by the utmost Extent of the Province. By this the Lands, where the *Shawanese* and *Ohio Indians* lived, and the Hunting-Ground of the *Delawares*, the *Nanticokes* and the *Tuteloës*, were included, and consequently these Nations had nothing to expect but to see themselves in a short Time, at
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1754.

the Rate the *English* fettled, violently driven from their Lands, as the *Delawares* had formerly been, and reduced to leave their Country, and seek a Settlement they knew not where. This, no doubt, engaged many of these People to give Ear to the *French*, who declared that they did not come to deprive the *Indians* of their Land, but to hinder the *English* from fettling westward of the *Allegheny* Hills. The Council of the Six Nations were also displeased at this Grant: For it is to be observed, that this Sale or Grant was not made agreeable to the Method which the Deputies of the Six Nations, at the Treaty of 1742, declared they always observed in the Sale of Lands. It was not agreed upon in the Council of *Onondago*, but condemned by them as soon as they heard of it: Neither were there any Deputies from the *Indians* on the *Ohio*, who looked on these Lands as a Part of their Possession guaranteed to them by the *Senecas*. In what Manner, and by what Means, this Grant was obtained, is well known to some who attended the Treaty, as well as the Artifices used for near a Week to induce the *Indians* to execute the Deed.

The People of *Connecticut* had, under Colour of their Charter, laid Claim to some Lands in the North-West Part of the Province of *Pennsylvania*; and, but a short Time before, some Persons had come from thence and made Surveys a little above *Shamokin*. At this Treaty, their Commissioners wanted to treat with the *Indians* about the Purchase of these Lands. The Proprietary Agent hearing this, endeavoured to be before hand, and proposed to purchase the Lands for the Proprietors. The *Indians* refused to sell. Hereupon it was represented to them, that unless they signed something of a Writing for these Lands to the Proprietary Agent,

Agent, it would be taken for granted that they had either sold them to the *French*, or intended to sell them to the People of *New-England*. In order, therefore, to remove that Suspicion, some of the *Indians* were, after much Persuasion, by the Interest of a Person known to have a considerable Influence among the *Indians*, or at least those of the *Mohock* Nation, prevailed upon to sign the Release, contrary to the established Custom and Usage of the Six Nations, not so much with a View of conveying the Lands, as to give the Proprietaries Assurance that they would not sell them to any other. Yet even this could not be obtained without some private Presents to particular *Indians* of known Influence and Authority.

In the Fall of this Year *Conrad Weiser* was sent by the Governor to meet at *Aughwick* (or *Aucquick*) the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* who lived on *Ohio*. As he had been very active in the Bargain lately made at *Albany*, it was necessary he should now use his Endeavours to palliate that Transaction, in such a Manner as would give least Umbrage to the Possessors of the Lands, which were thus purchased without their Privy or Consent. The Account he thought proper to give in Writing of this Part of his Business, or at least so much as was laid before the Assembly, is very short. He only says, that at this Meeting he informed the *Indians*, at their own Request, of what was done in the Treaty at *Albany*, and of the Purchase of Land that was made there. They immediately shewed their Dissatisfaction: Soon after this, *Shecalamy* declared, that the *Indians* did not understand the Points of the Compass, but if the Line was so run as to include the western Branch of *Susquehannak* they would never agree to

C. Weiser's Journal delivered to the Governor.

to it. But, upon letting them know the *New-England* People's Design, and putting them in Mind, that the *French* had possessed themselves of the *Ohio* Lands, which they might look on as lost to them, he says, "They were content, but would have been more so, if they had received a Part of the Consideration.

And that their Dissatisfaction continued, was soon after very manifest to one of the Proprietary Surveyors, who, being sent to survey some of these Lands, was met with by some of the *Indians*, taken Prisoner to an *Indian* Town, detained till the next Day, and, after divers Consultations held there, conducted back by a Guard towards the *English* Settlements, and made to understand, that, if he came again upon the same Business, he should not be suffered to depart in the same Manner.

It was very unfortunate for the *English* Interest, that, at the same Time the Affections of the *Indians* were alienated from us by the Abuses committed in Trade, and by our dispossessing them of their Lands, their Opinion of our military Abilities was very much lessened. But a few Months before this Treaty at *Aughwick* Colonel *Washington* was defeated, whose Conduct and Behaviour gave so much Offence to the *Indians* that *Thanackrishon*, a *Seneca* Chief, commonly known by the Title of the *Half King*, as being at the Head of the Western *Indians*, who were dependant on the Six Nations, could not help complaining of it, tho' in a very modest Manner. "The Colonel, he said, was a good natured Man, but had no Experience; he took upon him to command the *Indians* as his Slaves, and would have them every Day upon the Scout, and to attack the Enemy by themselves, but would by no Means
take

take Advice from the *Indians*. He lay in one Place from one Full-Moon to the other, without making any Fortifications, except that little Thing on the Meadow; whereas, had he taken Advice, and built such Fortifications as he (the Half King) advised him, he might easily have beat off the *French*. But the *French* in the Engagement acted like Cowards and the *English* like Fools.”

But, to pass over this, as well as the haughty Manner in which General *Braddock*, who arrived the Year following, behaved to the *Indians*, whereby we lost the Friendship of many who had hitherto remained steady in our Interest; nor to mention his mournful Defeat, which soon after happened, and confirmed the *Indians* in the Opinion they had conceived of our Want of Prudence and Skill in War; we see from this Review, and Detail of Facts, that the Complaints of the *Indians* are by no Means new, that the Grounds of their Uneasiness have been of long standing, and that they have complained of, and thought themselves aggrieved in, the Death of *Weekweley*, the *Delaware* Chief, who was hanged in the *Ferseys*; in the Imprisonment of the *Shawanese* Warriors in *Carolina*, where the principal Man died; and in the Abuses received from the *Indian* Traders, and the Injustice done them in respect of their Lands; all which, except that of the Trade, which is not mentioned, exactly correspond with the Account given by the Deputies of the Six Nations at the late Treaty at *Lancaster*, when called upon to declare if they knew the Cause of the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* making War upon the *English*.

No doubt, the critical Conjunction of Affairs, the Solicitations and Promises of the
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French,

French, together with the Success that had hitherto attended their Arms, might induce the *Indians* to fall upon the *English* at this particular Time, as being the most favourable Opportunity of taking Revenge: But still the Wrongs and Abuses they had suffered were what inflamed their Resentment, and, as they say themselves, made the Blow fall the heavier. And, if we examine, we shall find that the several neighbouring Nations, as they have imagined themselves more or less aggrieved, have shewn their Resentment by acting more or less vigorously against us. The several Tribes of the *Delawares*, who were deprived of their Lands, and driven from their Homes and Settlements in the Forks, and so ignominiously treated and expelled the Council, and above all the *Munseys* or *Minisink Indians*, whose Lands were taken from them without any Shadow of Justice, now took a severe Revenge. The *Shawanese*, who had, with others, complained in vain of the Traders, who saw themselves deprived first of their Hunting-Ground on *Juniata*, afterwards of their whole Country by the Purchase in 1754, were not much behind the former in their cruel Incursions. The Backwardness of the *Senecas* to accommodate the Difference and heal the Breach when once made, or rather the Encouragement and Support they gave the *Indians* who declared themselves our Enemies, may easily be attributed to their Resentment at seeing the Lands westward of the *Kittochtinny* Hills, which they considered as more particularly under their Care, unjustly invaded, their Complaints and Remonstrances little regarded, and, lastly, the great Purchase in 1754 made without their Consent and Approbation.

But still it remains a Question, whether all
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the *Delawares* would have declared themselves our Enemies, had it not been for the imprudent Conduct of one *Charles Broadhead*, of *Northampton* County. *Teedyuscung* declares, that, by this young Man, he was surprized into the War before he had Time to think; that, after the first Incurfion made on the *English* by the western *Delawares* and other *Indians* from *Ohio*, that Man came to *Wyoming*, and (tho' he had no Authority) as if commissioned fo to do, charged him and his People with beginning Hostilities, threatened them in a very high Strain, and told them the *English* were preparing to take a fevere Revenge. The *Indians*, alarmed at this, immediately desired the fame *Broadhead* to carry a Message from them to the Governor of *Pensylvania*, to assure him of their Friendship, and to bring them an Answer. This he neglected to do, fo that when the *Indians* had waited the Time appointed for an Answer, and found none sent, they were perfuaded that all was true that *Broadhead* had told, and thereupon prepared to defend themselves, and, being instigated thereto by the *French*, chose, rather to attack than be attacked. But when they were thus suddenly drawn into the War, the Maltreatment they had formerly met with immediately recurred to their Memory, awakened Resentment and armed them with double Fury.

Having thus traced the Grounds of the *Indians* Uneasiness, and the Causes of the War, it remains to shew the Measures taken to make up the Breach, and the Method which the *Indians* propose for securing a real and lasting Peace.

The *Indians* on *Susquehannah*, about the Beginning of the present Quarrel between *England*
and

and *France*, considering their Situation and divided State, every Tribe being a distinct and independant Government, plainly saw that their Force could not be great, and that they might one by one be easily crushed, they, therefore, resolved to new-model their Government, and out of the several Tribes to form one Nation: Accordingly the *Munseys*, and two Tribes of the *Delawares*, viz. the *Lenopi* and *Wanami*, joined together in a League, and chose a Chief, Sachem or King, into whose Hands they put the Management of their Affairs. Those who had been Sachems before, now willingly, for the Sake of the publick Good, resigned their Dignity, contenting themselves with a Place in the Council. *Teedyuscung* was the Person chosen King: He immediately appointed Captains, and regulated the Force of the Nation. Soon afterwards a Number of straggling *Indians*, who lived up and down without any Chief, joined in and strengthened the Alliance. By this Means, and the Junction of some of the *Mohiccons*, or River *Indians* and *Shawanese*, *Teedyuscung* soon saw himself at the Head of a very considerable Body. In this Manner he resolved to wait and see what Turn Affairs would take, and, when it was determined to attack the *English*, he took his Measures so, that, at the same Time, the Frontiers of *Pennsylvania*, *New-York*, and *New-Jerseys*, were ravaged and destroyed.

Easton
Treaty,
1756.
Fol. 21.

General
Johnson's
Treaty
with the
Mohawks,
&c. Lond.
Edit.
Fol. 3.

Upon the first Notice of the Incursions of the *Indians*, the Governor of *New-York* sent an Express to General *Johnson* with the News. Hereupon General *Johnson*, who was just returned from Lake *George*, sent to the Six Nations to meet him immediately, and, on the 7th of *December*, some of the *Mohawks*, *Senecas*,
Oneidas

Oneidas and *Tuscarorzas*, came to his House, to whom he made known the Hostilities committed by the *Shawanese*, *Delawares*, and *River Indians*, viz. the *Munseys* or *Mobiccons*; “As these *Indians*, says he, are looked upon by us as “Allies and Dependants of you the Six Nations, and living within the Limits of your “Country, I must desire you will, without “Loss of Time, reprimand them for what they “have already done, prevent their doing any “more Mischief, and insist on their turning “their Arms with us against the *French* and “their *Indians*, both your and our common “Enemies, and that without Loss of Time.”

Immediately after this the Six Nations dispatched some Messengers to the *Delawares*, to know the Cause why they made War on the *English*, and to command them to desist. About the same Time, namely in *December* 1755, *Scarroyady*, an *Indian* Chief, and another *Indian*, were sent from *Philadelphia* to the Six Nation Council, to lay before them the hostile Proceedings of the *Shawanese* and *Delawares*. These, in order to find out the Dispositions of the Enemy, directed their Course up the *Susquehannab*. All the Way to *Wyomen* they found the *Indians* against us, and saw some Parties going to War, whom they endeavoured, but in vain, to stop. At an *Indian* Town, about 30 Miles above *Wyomen*, they met *Teedyuscung*, who told them, he had sent to the *Senecas* and *Oneidas* for Assistance against the *English*, but had not received an Answer; that he was going to send again to the Six Nations, to which Message if he did not receive an Answer, he said, he should know what to do. From hence the Deputies proceeded to *Diabogo*, where they met the Messengers dispatched to the *Delawares*

Scarroyady's Account of his Journey, read in the Assembly April 10. 1756.

wares by the *Oneidas*, *Cayugas* and *Mohawks*, at the Instance of General *Johnson*. Here the Messengers of the Six Nations delivered what they had to say to the *Delaware* Council, who, in their Answer, expressed their Submission to the Six Nations, and said they would send some of their Chiefs with them to the Six Nation Council, which they accordingly did. When they arrived there, the Council sharply reprehended the *Delawares*, and ordered them to desist. The *Delawares* endeavoured to justify their Conduct by the ill Usage they had met with from the *English*: However they promised to inform their Nation and Warriors of what the Six Nations said, and would return an Answer speedily.

From *Diabogo*, *Scarroyady* and his Companion proceeded to Fort *Johnson*, where, in *February* 1756, was a Meeting of about 580 of the Six Nations and their Allies. At this Meeting Col. *Johnson* again pressed the Six Nations to put a Stop to the Incursions and Ravages of the *Delawares* which still continued. At first they seemed to wave the Matter: But, upon its being again more warmly recommended to them, they at last agreed that some Delegates from the Six Nations should use their utmost Endeavours to accommodate the Matter between the *English* and *Delawares*, and for that Purpose sent a Message to the *Delawares* to come and meet them at *Otsaningo*, an *Indian* Town on *Susquehannab*. The *Delawares* came, and a Meeting was held, at which “the Deputies of the Six Nations charged the *Delawares* to get sober; as they looked upon their Actions as the Actions of drunken Men.” The *Delawares* returned for Answer, That they “looked upon themselves as Men and would
“acknowledge

“acknowledge no Superiority that any other
 “Nation had over them. We are Men, and
 “are determined not to be ruled any longer
 “by you as Women; and we are determined
 “to cut off all the *English*, except those that
 “make their Escape from us in Ships; so say
 “no more to us on that Head, lest we make
 “Women of you as you have done of us. In
 “the mean Time, tho’ they did not any longer
 “acknowledge the Six Nations in general as
 “their Uncles, they said, they would listen to
 “what the *Senecas* said.” It is to be observed,
 that the *Senecas*, tho’ pressed by Sir *William*
Johnson, and the other five Nations, would not
 undertake to accommodate this Difference, but
 rather countenanced and encouraged the *Delawares*.
 The most probable Reasons for their
 so doing have been before assigned. The reso-
 lute Answer of the *Delawares*, and the known
 Encouragement they received from the *Senecas*,
 convinced the Six Nation Deputies that no-
 thing was to be done by Threats; therefore,
 changing their Stile, they, by smoother Mea-
 sures, prevailed with the *Delawares* to agree to
 a Cessation of Arms, and to meet them and
 Col. *Johnson* to treat farther about a Peace.

At the Time the Six Nation Messengers set
 out to invite the *Delawares* to a Council at
Otsaningo, *Scarroyady* set out on his Return to
Philadelphia, where, having arrived in *April*
 1756, he gave the Governor an Account of his
 Embassy. A few Days after this, the Governor,
 without waiting the Result of the Council at
Otsaningo, finding that the *Delawares* still con-
 tinued their Ravages, declared War against
 them, offering a Reward for Scalps and Pri-
 soners.

Some Days before the War was declared,
 some

some of the People called *Quakers* in *Philadelphia* addressed the Governor, requesting him to suspend the Declaration of War till some farther pacific Measures were tried, and offering, both with their Estates and Persons, to contribute their Assistance therein; but War was declared: Some of this People, nevertheless, with the Governor's Leave, had several Meetings with *Scarroyady* and other *Indian* Chiefs then in *Philadelphia*, *Conrad Weiser* and *Andrew Montour* the Provincial Interpreters, and *Daniel Claus*, General *Johnson's* Deputy-Secretary, being present. In the Course of the Conversation some Things passed which gave Room to hope, that the Difference between the *Delawares* and *English* might be accommodated in an amicable Manner. And *Scarroyady* being requested to give his Advice how to effect so desirable a Work, proposed to send three *Indians*, two of whom, *viz.* Captain *Newcastle* and *Jagrea* were of the Council of the Six Nations, and one, *viz.* *William Loquis*, a *Delaware*, to let the *Delawares* know, "There were a People risen in *Philadelphia*, who desired to have Peace restored, and that they must cease from doing Mischief, and not be afraid, but be willing, to come and treat with the *English*." Of this the Governor was informed, and, during the Conferences, having received Advice from the Governor of *New-York* of what had passed at *Otsaningo*, of the proposed Meeting between Sir *William Johnson* and the *Delawares*, he agreed to the dispatching the three *Indian* Messengers; and, when they were ready to set out, he delivered them a Message to the *Delawares* and *Shawanese Indians* living on *Susquebannah*; the Purport of which was, that he had, by Means of the Governor

ernor of *New-York*, received an Account from Sir *William Johnson* of the Meeting at *Otsaningo*, and of the Cessation of Arms there agreed; that if the *Delawares* would deliver up the *English* Prisoners to the Six Nations, and hearken to their Advice, in laying down the Hatchet, and abide by such Terms as should be agreed on, tho' much Blood was spilt, and the *English*, in Resentment of this, were well prepared to avenge themselves, yet they had so great Regard to the Six Nations, that it will be in their Power to persuade the *English* not to prosecute the War, but to accept fair, just and honourable Terms; that he himself was for Peace, and that a great Number of People, the Descendants of those who came over with the first Proprietor, were desirous to interpose with the Government, to receive the Submission of the *Delawares*, and to overlook what was Past, and re-establish Peace, and had frequently applied to him for that Purpose. The *Delaware* Messenger was also to inform his Countrymen of the kind Treatment those of their Tribe, who lived among us, had received.

The Messengers went, delivered their Message, and on the 31st of *May* brought back an Answer from *Teedyuscung*, that he was willing to renew the Treaties of Friendship which *William Penn* had made with his Forefathers; that he and his People had agreed to what the Delegates of the Six Nations had required of them at *Otsaningo*; that they begged what was past might be forgotten; that they had laid down the Hatchet, and would never make Use of it any more against the *English*.

After the Delivery of this Message, the Governor delayed returning an Answer for several Days, at which the Messengers were very uneasy,

Minutes
of Coun-
cil deli-
vered to
the Affem-
bly.

easy, and informed *Conrad Weiser*, that they were apprehensive their long Stay would make the *Diabogo Indians* (*viz.* those to and from whom they had carried the foregoing Messages) believe, that they were either cut off by the *English*, or that this Government did not mean to conclude a Treaty with them. Whereupon the Governor, on the 8th of *June*, dispatched them back to *Diabogo* with a Message to inform the *Indians*, that he thanked them for the kind Reception they had given his Messengers; that he was glad to find they had hearkened to his Message; that, as they, on their Parts, had confirmed the Treaties and Leagues of Amity subsisting between them and this Government, so he, on his Part, ratified all former Treaties and Engagements; and that they might have an Opportunity of making these mutual Declarations at a publick Convention, he desired they would meet him at *Conrad Weiser's*, assuring them that they should come and go unmolested, &c. but that he desired that nothing proposed by him should interfere with any Invitation they might have received from Sir *William Johnson*, or the Six Nations; that, as a Council was to be held in the Country of the Six Nations, and the *Indians* at *Diabogo* were invited to it, he desired they would give their Attendance there, but that they might go to either Place as they inclined.

After this a Cessation of Hostilities against the Northern *Indians* for 30 Days was proclaimed at *Philadelphia*; but it happened very unfortunately, that, at the same Time a Cessation of Arms was proclaimed in *Pensylvania*, War was declared against the same *Indians* in *New-Jersey*, and a Company of Men sent against *Wyomen*, one of their Towns. The
News

News of this was brought to *Bethlehem* just as the Messengers were setting out from thence; they, therefore, waited at *Bethlehem* till they heard that the Party of Men from the *Ferseys* having been at *Wyomen*, and burned the Town, which had been before deserted, were returned, and then they set forward and met *Teedyuscung* at *Diabogo*.

He was then holding a Treaty with the De- Easton
puties of the Six Nations, who had now agreed Treaty,
to acknowledge the Independency of the *Dela- Aug.*
wares, and the Authority of *Teedyuscung* over 1756.
four Nations, viz. the *Lenopi* and *Wanami* (two Philadel-
Delaware Nations) the *Munseys* and the *Mobic- ed, p. 10,*
cons, but requested him and his People not to act 14.
of themselves, but advise with the Six Nations;
that by uniting their Councils and Strength they
might the better promote the general Interest of
the *Indians*. They told *Teedyuscung* the *English*
and *French* were fighting for their Lands, and
desired him to unite with them to defend them.
At the same Time they gave him a large Belt
with several Figures wrought in it. "In the
" middle was a Square, meaning the Lands of
" the *Indians*, and at the one End the Figure of
" a Man indicating the *English*, and at the other
" End another meaning the *French*: both these,
" said they, covet our Lands, but let us join to-
" gether to defend our Lands against both, and
" you shall be Partakers with us of our Lands."
The Proposal was too advantageous not to be
accepted. *Teedyuscung* therefore immediately
agreed to it, and, in Conjunction with the Six
Nations, concerted a Plan for bringing about a
Peace with the *English*, and for securing their
Lands. As it had been before agreed upon at
Otsaningo to meet Sir *William Johnson*, *Teedyuf-*
cung dispatched *Nutimus*, who had formerly been

a King of one of the *Delaware* Tribes, with some of his People, to meet Sir *William*, and gave them Orders how to act, while he himself prepared to meet the Governor of *Pensylvania*. This he assumed to himself as being the most dangerous and hazardous Enterprize, as he was obliged to go into the inhabited Part of the Country, and among a People who could not but be much incensed against him for the Ravages that had been committed by his People. Nor was this only the most hazardous; it likewise required the greatest Address, as with that Government the Affairs of the greatest Importance were to be transacted. The Six Nations empowered him to act for them as a Plenipotentiary, promising to ratify whatever he should do.

Sir Will.
Johnson's
Treaty
with the
Shawanese
and Dela-
ware Indi-
ans, 1756.

On the second of July the *Delaware* Embassy, who were joined by *Packsinosa* the old *Shawanese* King, met Sir *William Johnson* at *Onondago*, and from thence proceeded to *Fort Johnson*, where, on the 10th of the same Month, a Treaty was held. At this Sir *William Johnson* painted the Murders and Devastations they had committed in strong Colours, reproached them for their Conduct, and, after imputing it to the Artifices of the *French*, told them, “that by Virtue of a Power received from his Majesty, if they were sincerely disposed to continue his Majesty’s dutiful Children, and to maintain their Fidelity towards him, and unbroken Peace and Friendship towards all his Subjects, and their Brethren the *English* in these Parts, and would exert their unfeigned Zeal and best Endeavours to reclaim those of their People who had been deluded by the *French*, upon these Conditions he was ready to renew the Covenant Chain of Peace and Friendship.” To this the *Delaware* Chief calmly replied, that “he
“ had

“had carefully attended to what was said, that
 “it was pleasing to him, but he could not take
 “upon him to give a determinate Answer, that
 “he would punctually deliver the Speech to all
 “his Nation on his Return home, and that
 “their fixed Resolutions and positive Answer
 “should be returned as soon as possible.”

Upon receiving this Answer, Sir *William* summoned a Council of the *Indians* of the Six Nations who attended the Treaty, and informed them of the Reply he intended to make, and said he expected they would second him therein. They told him, they would speak to the *Delawares*, and prepare them for what he intended to say, and at the same Time press them to declare their real intentions.

The next Day Sir *William*, addressing the *Delaware* Chief, let him know, “that what he had answered yesterday was somewhat surprising, as his Nation had been the Aggressors, and the *English* the injured Party; that the present State of Affairs between the *English* and his People required a speedy and determinate Issue; that he had received Accounts that Hostilities were still continued by some of the *Delawares*, and that therefore it was requisite that he should, without Delay, explain himself in behalf of his Nation, in such an explicit and satisfactory Manner, that his Majesty’s injured Provinces might know what Part was proper for them to act, and that he might depend upon it, they would not continue tamely to bear the bloody Injuries which they had for some Time past suffered.”

Upon this, the *Delaware* Chief made Answer, that his People had already ceased from Hostilities, that they would follow the Example of the Six Nations, that they would take hold of
 the

the Covenant Chain that bound together the *English* and Six Nations, that they renounced the Friendship of the *French*, and as Sir *William Johnson* had used the *Mohicans* well, he promised to deliver up what *English* Prisoners were among his People.’ After this, Sir *William* having expressed his Satisfaction at what was said, offered them the Hatchet against the *French*, which they accepted, and immediately sung the War Song and danced; and upon their Return, as the *Shawanese* King afterwards told Sir *William Johnson*, they informed *Teedyuscung* of what was done.

Sir Wil-
liam’s
Treaty
with the
Shawane-
se, &c.
Ap. 1759,
fo. 9.

While these things were doing, *Teedyuscung* having taken the * most proper Measures to secure himself from Danger, and to be revenged, if any Injury was offered him, set out with the Messengers, to meet with the Governor of *Pennsylvania*. On the 18th of *July*, he arrived at *Bethlehem*, where he stopped, and sent some of his People with Captain *Newcastle* to *Philadelphia*, to inform the Governor of his Arrival, and to let him know, he should be glad to meet him in the *Forks*, and that he came empowered to speak not only in Behalf of his own People, but also of the Six United Nations.

Minutes
of Council
delivered
to the As-
sembly.

Captain *Newcastle* having arrived with this Message, pressed the Governor to lose no Time. “ I have, said he, been entrusted by you, with Matters of the highest Concern; I now declare to you, that I have used all the Abilities I am Master of, in the Management of them, and that with the greatest Chearfulness. I tell you in general, Matters look well. I shall

* He left Parties of his Warriors between the Settlements of *Pennsylvania* and *Wyomen*, encamped at such Distance from each other, that in Case of his receiving any Injury, they might soon know and revenge it.

“ not

“not go into Particulars. *Teedyuscung* will do
 “this at a public Meeting, which he expects
 “will be soon. The Times are dangerous, the
 “Sword is drawn and glittering, all around you,
 “Numbers of *Indians* on your Borders; I be-
 “seech you, therefore, not to give any Delay,
 “to this important Affair. Say where the
 “Council Fire is to be kindled. Come to a
 “Conclusion immediately; let us not wait a
 “Moment, lest what has been done, should
 “prove ineffectual.” The solemn manner in
 which this was delivered, affected the Governor,
 not less than the Speech itself. Accordingly, by
 Capt. *Newcastle*’s Advice, *Easton* was fixed upon
 for the place of Meeting, where the Governor,
 and four of his Council, three Commissioners
 from the Assembly, and about forty Citizens
 of the City of *Philadelphia*, chiefly of the People
 called Quakers, met the *Indians*, on the 28th
 of *July*.

At the first Meeting, the Governor gave *Easton*
Teedyuscung, and his People, a hearty Welcome, Treaty in
 and *Teedyuscung* informed him, that he came July and
 authorized to speak in Behalf of Ten Nations, August
 as an Embassador from the Six Nations, and 1756.
 as a Chief or Head of the other Four; that he
 was now only to hear what the Governor had
 to say, and make a Report of it to the Ten
 united Nations.

Hereupon, the Governor, the Day follow-
 ing, informed the *Indians* of the Steps he had
 taken, after the *Delawares* had begun to commit
 Hostilities, of the Preparations he had made
 to carry the War into their Country, from
 which he was diverted by the Six Nations, who
 informed him, that at their interposition, the
Delawares had laid down the Hatchet; after
 this, he informed them of the several Messages
 he

he had sent by Captain *Newcastle*, and the other *Indian* Messengers, and of the Answers he had received, and assured them, that Captain *Newcastle* acted by his Authority. He let them know, that he, and the People, were well disposed to renew the antient Friendship, that subsisted between *William Penn* and the *Indians*, and desired this might be told to the Six Nations, and all the *Indians* far and near, whom he invited to come and meet him at the Council Fire, but insisted, that as an Evidence of their Sincerity, and the only Terms on which they might expect a true and lasting Peace, they should bring down the Prisoners.

When the Governor had ended his Speech, *Teedyuscung* took out the Belt he had received from the Six Nations, explained it to the Governor, and told him, that Belt held together Ten Nations, who were under the Direction of two Chiefs only, that these had their Attention fixed to see, who were really disposed for Peace; that whoever was willing to guarantee these Lands to the *Indians*, him they would join; but whoever would not comply with these Terms of Peace, the Ten Nations would join against him and strike him. “Whoever, says “he, will make Peace, let him lay hold of this “Belt, and the Nations around, shall see and “know it.—I wish the same good Spirit, that “possessed the good old *William Penn*, may inspire the People of this Province, at this “Time.” The Governor accepted the Belt, and declared, he was most heartily disposed to effect the Meaning of it; and in return gave *Teedyuscung* another, and desired him to shew it every where, and to make known the good Dispositions of the People of this Government, and the Treatment he had met with, to his

own People, the Six Nations, and all his Allies. And having before requested *Teedyuscung* to be an Agent for the Province among the *Indians*, he took out two Belts joined together, and addressing *Newcastle* and *Teedyuscung*, declared them Agents for the Province, and gave them Authority to do the public Business together. He recommended to them mutual Confidence, Esteem and Intimacy, and wished them Success in their Negotiations. They undertook the Charge, promised to be mutual good Friends, and do every Thing in their Power to promote the weighty Matters entrusted to them.

After the Treaty *Teedyuscung* returned to his Country, and Captain *Newcastle* to *Philadelphia*, from whence he was soon after dispatched by the Governor, by the Way of *Albany*, to the Six Nations. And, not long after, returning from thence, he was seized with the Small-Pox, and died at *Philadelphia* much lamented. In the mean Time *Teedyuscung* sent Messengers to the several Tribes of *Indians* under his Jurisdiction, and to the Six Nations, to inform them of the Reception he had met with, and to invite them to another Meeting. Just as he was ready to set out he received a Message from *Fort Johnson*, advising him against going to *Pensylvania*. But as *Teedyuscung* paid no Regard to the first Message, another was sent, desiring the *Indians* not to go to *Pensylvania*, for that Letters were come from *Philadelphia*, informing that a Plot was laid to cut them off as soon as any considerable Number could be got together. This overtook *Teedyuscung* on his March, and being delivered in publick, had such an Effect upon many that were with him, that they immediately turned back. *Teedyuscung* neither
N altogether

altogether gave Credit to the Message, nor yet quite disbelieved it, so that while he determined to proceed, he resolved to take what Steps were necessary to guard against the worst. Therefore sending back the greatest Part of the Women and Children, he came down with his own and a few other Families, having left some of his ablest Captains and bravest Warriors at proper Places on the Frontiers, to wait for Accounts how he was received, and to act accordingly. Some Time before *Teedyuscung* came down, Lord *Loudon* had wrote to the Governor, and forbade him, or his Government, to confer or treat with the *Indians* in any Shape, or on any Account, whatever; and directed that whatever Business in that Branch of his Majesty's Service should arise in his Government, or Province, should be referred to Sir *William Johnson*, whom his Majesty had appointed sole Agent for these Affairs under his Lordship's Direction. When, therefore, the Governor received the News of *Teedyuscung's* Arrival, he was greatly at a Loss what to do, and applied for Advice to the Assembly, who were then sitting. The Assembly gave it as their Opinion, that the Treaty begun by the late Governor, before Sir *William Johnson's* Powers were made known, in pursuance of which the *Indians* were come down, should not be wholly discontinued, lest the *Indians* should be disgusted, and the Opportunity of bringing them to a general Peace with all the *British* Colonies lost. “We
 “rather think it adviseable that your Honour
 “would give them an Interview, make them
 “the customary Presents in behalf of this
 “Government, to relieve their Necessities, and
 “assure them of our sincere Inclinations to
 “take them again into Friendship, forgive
 “their

“their Offences, and make a firm Peace with
 “them; but at the same Time to let them
 “know, that the Government of this Province
 “cannot agree to make a Peace with them for
 “itself, and leave them at Liberty to continue
 “the War with our Brethren of the neighbour-
 “ing Colonies; that our King has appointed
 “Sir *William Johnson* to manage these general
 “Treaties for all the Governments in this
 “Part of *America*, and to him we must there-
 “fore refer the *Indians* for a final Conclusion
 “and Ratification of this Treaty. An Inter-
 “view of this Kind with the *Indians*, we appre-
 “hend, may at this Time be greatly for his
 “Majesty’s Service, and not inconsistent with
 “the Intention of Lord *Loudon’s* Letter.”

Votes of
 the Assem-
 bly for
 1756, p.
 24

Teedyuscung having, about the latter End of
October, arrived with a Number of *Delawares*,
Saxwanese and *Mohicans*, and some Deputies
 from the Six Nations, the Governor, with his
 Secretary, and one of his Council, four Com-
 missioners appointed by the Assembly, and a
 Number of Citizens of the City of *Philadel-*
phia, chiefly of the People called Quakers, met
 him at *Easton* on the 8th of *November*. After
 several Days had been spent to little Purpose,
 it was proposed to ask the *Indians* the Cause of
 their Uneasiness, to which the Governor having
 agreed, the following Paragraph was added to
 the Speech he had already prepared.

“Brother *Teedyuscung*, what I am now going
 “to say should have been mentioned some
 “Time ago: I now desire your strict Attention
 “to it. You was pleased to tell me the other
 “Day that the League of Friendship, made
 “by your Forefathers, was yet fresh in your
 “Memory; you said that it was made so strong
 “that a small Thing could not easily break it.

Easton
 Treaty,
 Nov.
 1756, p.
 20.

“As

“ As we are now met together at a Council
 “ Fire kindled by both of us, and have pro-
 “ mised on both Sides to be free and open to
 “ one another, I must ask you how that League
 “ of Friendship came to be broken? Have we
 “ the Governor or People of *Pensylvania* done
 “ you any Kind of Injury? If you think we
 “ have, you should be honest, and tell us your
 “ Hearts: You should have made Complaints
 “ before you struck us, for so it was agreed in
 “ our antient League. However, now the
 “ great Spirit has thus happily brought us once
 “ more together, speak your Mind plainly on
 “ this Head, and tell us, if you have any just
 “ Cause of Complaint, what it is. That I may
 “ obtain a full Answer to this Point, I give
 “ you this Belt of Wampum.”

In answer to this, *Teedyuscung* assigned three
 Causes; first, the imprudent Conduct of *Charles*
Broadhead, which has been already mentioned.
 Secondly, the Instigations of the *French*. And,
 lastly, (which made the Blow fall the harder)
 the Grievances he and his People suffered from
 this Government and the *Ferseys*.

The Governor calling upon him to explain
 what these Grievances were,

“ I have not, says he, far to go for an In-
 “ stance; this Ground that is under me, (stamp-
 “ ing with his Foot) is mine, and has been
 “ taken from me by Fraud and Forgery.” The
 Governor asked him what he meant by Fraud
 and Forgery. To which he replied, “ When
 “ one Man had formerly Liberty to purchase
 “ Lands, and he took a Deed from the *Indians*
 “ for it, and then dies, if, after his Death, his
 “ Children forge a Deed like the true One,
 “ with the same *Indians* Names to it, and there-
 “ by take Lands from the *Indians* which they
 “ never

“ never fold: This is Fraud. Also when one
 “ King has Lands beyond the River, and an-
 “ other has Lands on this Side, both bounded
 “ by Rivers, Creeks and Springs, which cannot
 “ be moved, and the Proprietaries, greedy to
 “ purchase Lands, buy of one King what be-
 “ longs to the other: This likewise is Fraud.”

“ Have you, said the Governor, been served
 “ so? Yes, replied *Teedyuscung*, I have been
 “ served so in this Province. All the Land
 “ extending from *Tobiccon* over the great Moun-
 “ tain as far as *Wyomen* is mine, of which some
 “ has been taken from me by Fraud. For when I
 “ agreed to sell the Land to the old Proprietary
 “ by the Course of the River, the young Proprie-
 “ taries came and got it run by a straight Course
 “ by the Compass, and by that Means took in
 “ double the Quantity intended to be sold.”

It may be deemed foreign to the Purpose to mention the Opposition that was made by Secretary *Peters* and *C. Weiser* to the asking the *Indians* the Cause of their Uneasiness, and how the Secretary threw down his Pen, and declared he would take no Minutes when the King came to complain of the Proprietaries. These Things, therefore, being passed over, we shall only observe, that, after some Debate, it was agreed upon, at the Instance of the Commissioners, to offer the *Indians* immediate Satisfaction for the Injury they supposed had been done them, whether their Claim was just or not. This being done, *Teedyuscung* let the Governor know, that the main Design of his present Coming was to re-establish Peace, after which he had intended at another Meeting to lay open his Grievances; that he had done that now only at the Request of the Governor, but was not impowered to receive any Satisfaction
 at

at this Time; that several were absent who were concerned in these Lands; that he would endeavour to bring these down at the next Meeting, and that then the Matter might be further considered and finally settled.

Votes of the Assembly, Jan. 1757. A few Weeks after this Treaty arrived in *Philadelphia* Mr. *George Croghan*, whom Sir *William Johnson* had appointed his Deputy-Agent of *Indian Affairs*, and by Instructions, dated *November 24th*, 1756, had ordered “to proceed to *Philadelphia*, or to any Part of the Province of *Pensylvania*, and endeavour to find out the Disposition of the *Indians* in those Parts, and convince them that it is their Interest to continue Friends to the *English* and Six Nations; to enquire into the Cause of the *Delaware* and *Shawanese* Behaviour to the *English* in those Parts, and assure them, if they would come and let Sir *William Johnson* know wherein they were injured, he would endeavour to have Justice done them, so that that unhappy Difference might be settled.”

G. Croghan's Letter to the Governor. Votes of Assembly, Jan. 1757, p. 63. Of this Mr. *Croghan*, soon after his Arrival, informed the Governor, and at the same Time gave it as his Opinion, considering what had passed at the last Treaty, that this Government could not avoid giving the *Indians* a Meeting to settle the Differences that subsisted between them. He farther assured the Governor, he would do every Thing in his Power to settle these Differences in an amicable Manner, and in the mean Time would let Sir *William Johnson* know that the *Indians* were to meet here, and expected to receive his farther Instructions on that Head; and as he thought it necessary the Meeting should be held soon, he proposed sending Messengers to *Teedyuscung*, and the *Susquehannab Indians*, as soon as possible.

Accordingly

Accordingly Messengers were sent with two Messages; one to the *Shawanese*, *Nanticokes*, and *Six Nations*, living at *Otsaningo* and *Diabogo*, and the other to *Teedyuscung*; which are as follows:

George Croghan *to the Chiefs of the Shawanese, Nanticokes, and Six Nations.*

“ Brethren of the *Shawanese*, *Nanticokes*, and
 “ *Six Nations*, living at *Otsaningo* and *Diabogo*!
 “ I am come here about a Month ago from Sir
 “ *William Johnson*, who is charged with the Care
 “ of all the *Indians* in this Part of *America*, by
 “ the great King of *England*, your Father and
 “ his Master. On my Arrival here, your Bro-
 “ ther *Onas* shewed me a Copy of the Confer-
 “ ences he had with you at *Easton*; where I find
 “ you have agreed to have another Meeting in
 “ the Spring in order to finally settle all Differ-
 “ ences subsisting between you and your Breth-
 “ ren the *English*, and to brighten the antient
 “ Chain of Friendship which has lately con-
 “ tracted some Rust. And as your Brother
 “ Sir *William Johnson* sent me here to enquire
 “ into the Causes of the Differences subsisting
 “ between you and your Brethren the *English*
 “ in these Parts, I promise you in his Name,
 “ that I will do every Thing in my Power to
 “ settle these Differences between you, and see
 “ full Satisfaction made you for any Injustice
 “ you have received; and that this Meeting
 “ may be the more general, and for the better
 “ settling all Differences, I call a few of your
 “ chief Men to meet me at *John Harris’s*, to
 “ consult on Measures for bringing to this
 “ general Meeting some of the Chiefs of our
 “ Brethren

“ Brethren from *Ohio*, in order once more to
“ brighten the antient Chain of Friendship. In
“ confirmation of which I fend you this Belt
“ of Wampum in the Name of Sir *William*
“ *Johnson*, your Brother *Onas*, and the Descend-
“ ants of the first Settlers who came over with
“ your antient Brother *William Penn*, with
“ whom you began this good Work at *Easton*
“ this Fall past.”

The other Message follows in these Words:

George Croghan *to the* Delawares *at* Diahogo,
and all the Branches of Susquehannah.

“ Brother *Teedyuscung*, when I came here from
“ Sir *William Johnson*, your Brother *Onas* told
“ me, you had promised him another Meeting
“ in the Spring, in order to settle all the Dif-
“ ferences subsisting between you and your
“ Brethren the *English*; and as your Brother
“ Sir *William Johnson* has ordered me to assist
“ at these Meetings, and help to see Matters
“ reconciled and Justice done you, I desire you
“ by this Belt of Wampum in the Name of Sir
“ *William Johnson*, your Brother *Onas*, and the
“ Descendants of the first Settlers who came
“ over with your antient Brother *William Penn*,
“ to use your utmost Endeavours to bring down
“ all your People, and as many of your Uncles
“ the Six Nations that live among you, as will
“ be necessary to accomplish this good Work
“ you began; and I promise you in the Name
“ of Sir *William Johnson*, whom the great King
“ of *England*, your Father and his Master, has
“ ordered to take Care of all the *Indians* in this
“ Part of *America*, that I will see Justice done
“ you.”

When

When the above Message was delivered to the *Indians* at *Diabogo*, the *Indian* Council immediately dispatched two Men to the *Ohio*, to inform the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* living there of this Meeting, and to desire some of them to come to it; but if none of them should chuse to come, these Messengers were then to insist that none of the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* living on the *Ohio* should come to War against the *English*, till this Meeting was over, and they have Time after returning home to let them know how it ended.

Conferences
with the
Indians
at Harris
and Lan-
caster,
1757. p.
1.

About the Time Mr. *Croghan* dispatched the Messengers up *Susquehannab*, he sent three others to the *Indians* on *Ohio*, inviting them to the Conference. These, upon their Arrival at *Venango*, one of the chief Towns on *Ohio*, called a Meeting of the *Indians*, and delivered their Message, with which the *Delawares* present seemed well pleased, and said they would go down, but must first go and consult their Uncles the *Senecas*, who lived further up the River. The next Day they went and consulted the *Senecas*, who having heard the Messages, dissuaded the *Delawares* from going, because the Belts (or Messages) sent were not proper on the Occasion; they said, they knew *George Croghan*, and would be well enough pleased to see him, and if he would send them proper Belts made out of old Council-Wampum (*i. e.* a Message from the Government and People, who were their old Friends, and with whom they had formerly treated) both they and the *Delawares* would go down and see him. The Messengers, upon their Return, called at *Diabogo* and informed *Teedyuscung* of the Message they carried to *Ohio*, and the Answer they brought back. Hereupon *Teedyuscung* sent to

P. 8 & 9.

let the Governor and Mr. *Croghan* know, that neither the Belts sent, nor the Persons that carried them, were proper on the Occasion; that, if they wanted to have a Meeting with the *Indians*, they should send wise Men, not young Warriors, to invite them down.

Besides the foregoing Messages the Governor and Mr. *Croghan* wrote to Sir *William Johnson* to send down a Number of the Six Nations to assist at the proposed Meeting. These came down first, in Number about one Hundred and sixty Men, Women and Children. On the 29th of *March*, 1757, Mr. *Croghan* met them at *Harris's* on *Susquehanna*, about 90 Miles from *Philadelphia*, and was informed by them, that *Teedyuscung* was gone into the *Senecas* Country to get a Number of *Senecas* to come down with him; that he would be down as soon as possible with 200 *Indians*, but whether he would come to *Easton* or *John Harris's* they could not tell.

From *Harris's* they were persuaded to come to *Lancaster*, where having waited till the 26th of *April*, and the Small-Pox breaking out among them, and finding *Teedyuscung* did not come, they sent Messengers to *Philadelphia* to invite the Governor to come and meet them, as they wanted to go home again. On the 9th of *May* the Governor arrived at *Lancaster*, and on the 12th had a Meeting with the *Indians*, at which he informed them of what had passed between him and the *Delawares*, and desired they would advise him what Measures they thought would be most likely to bring about a Peace with these *Indians*. In answer to this the Six Nation Chief told the Governor, “it gave them great
“ Satisfaction to hear that he had been so for-
“ tunate as to find out the true Causes from
“ whence

“whence the Differences arose between the *English* and the *Delawares* and *Shawanese*, for that they and Sir *W. Johnson* had taken a great deal of Pains to find it out without Succes.” After this he informs the Governor of the Meeting the Six Nation Deputies had with the *Delawares* at *Otsaningo*, and how the *Delawares* had thrown off their Dependance, and declared they would no longer acknowledge any but the *Senecas* as their Uncles and Superiors. “Now, Brother, says he, our Advice to you is, that you send proper Messengers immediately to the *Senecas* to invite them with the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* to a Meeting with you here, and when they come, be very careful in your Proceedings with them, and do not be rash, and it will be in your Power to settle all the Differences subsisting between you and them.”

In answer to this the Governor thanked the *Indians* for informing him of the close Connection between the *Delawares* and *Senecas*, acknowledged their Advice was good and wholesome, and in pursuance of it, he said, he would send to *Teedyuscung* to come down, and leave it entirely to his Choice to bring with him such, and so many, of his Uncles and others his Friends as he thinks proper.

After this *George Croghan* having informed the *Indians*, that he was appointed and ordered by Sir *William Johnson* to enquire into, and hear, the Complaints of the *Indians*, and, if justly grounded, to use his Endeavours to get them redressed, insisted upon it that those present should open their Hearts to him without Reserve, and inform him of every Thing they knew concerning Frauds complained of by *Teedyuscung*, or any other Injuries or Injustice done

done to them, or any of the Tribes of the Six Nations or other *Indians* in Alliance with his Majesty King *George* in this or the neighbouring Colonies, that he might be enabled to represent the true State of their Grievances to his Majesty. He farther desired them to recommend it to the *Delawares* and *Shawaneſe* to come down and give the Governor a Meeting; to make their Complaints appear and have them adjusted, elſe he would take it for granted they had no juſt Cauſe of Complaint. Hereupon the Six Nation Speaker aſſigned four Cauſes which gave Riſe to the preſent Quarrel between the *English* and the *Delawares* and *Shawaneſe*; firſt, the death of the *Delaware* Chief (*Weekweley*) who, for accidentally killing a Man, was hanged in the *Jerſeys*. Secondly, the Imprifonment of ſome *Shawaneſe* Warriors in *Carolina*, where the Chief Man of the Party died. Thirdly the diſpoſſeſſing the *Indians* of their Land. And, laſtly, the Inſtigations of the *French*. On the two laſt Heads he ſaid, “We muſt now inform you, that in former
“Times our Forefathers conquered the *Delawares*, and put Petticoats on them: A long
“Time after that, they lived among you our
“Brothers; but, upon ſome Difference between
“you and them, we thought proper to remove
“them, giving them Lands to plant and hunt
“on at *Wyomen* and *Juniata* on *Suſquehannab*:—
“But you, covetous of Land, made Plantations there, and ſpoiled their Hunting-
“Grounds: They then complained to us, and
“we looked over thoſe Lands, and found their
“Complaints to be true. At this Time they
“carried on a Correſpondence with the *French*,
“by which Means the *French* became acquainted
“ed with all the Cauſes of Complaint they had
“againſt

“ against you, and as your People were daily
 “ increasing their Settlements, by this Means
 “ you drove them back into the Arms of the
 “ *French*, and they took the Advantage of
 “ spiring them up against you, by telling
 “ them, Children you see, and we have often
 “ told you, how the *English* your Brethren
 “ would serve you, they plant all the Country,
 “ and drive you back, so that in a little Time
 “ you will have no Land. It is not so with
 “ us; tho’ we build Trading-Houses on your
 “ Land we do not plant it; we have our Pro-
 “ visions from over the great Water.” We
 “ have opened our Hearts to you, and told
 “ you what Complaints we have heard that
 “ they had against you, and our Advice to
 “ you is, that you send for the *Senecas* and
 “ them, treat them kindly, and rather give
 “ them some Part of their Fields back again
 “ than differ with them: It is in your Power
 “ to settle all Differences with them if you
 “ please. As to what passed between you and
 “ *Teedyuscung* last Fall, respecting the Purchase
 “ of Lands, we know nothing of it. They are
 “ not here, and if we enquire we can only hear
 “ what you say on that Head. We should
 “ have been glad the *Delawares* and *Shawanese*
 “ had been here at this Time, that we might
 “ have heard the Complaints on both Sides;
 “ then we should have been able to judge who
 “ were in the Fault, and we are determined to
 “ see Justice done to the Party aggrieved. You
 “ say, if you have done the *Indians* any Injustice
 “ you are willing to make them Satisfaction.
 “ We are glad to hear it; and as you have
 “ Writings to refresh your Memories about
 “ every Transaction that has happened between
 “ you and the *Delawares* and *Shawanese*, we
 “ recommend

“recommend it heartily to you to do them
“Justice.”

As the Six Nations had so warmly pressed the sending for the *Senecas*, the Governor promised it should be done, and accordingly sent a Message to *Teedyuscung*, to inform him of the Advice the Six Nations had given, in consequence of which he desired him to come down as soon as it would suit his Convenience, and to bring with him the *Senecas*, or such of them as would be agreeable to him, to open his Heart to his Brethren, and he promised him if it should appear that he had been defrauded of his Lands, or received any other Injuries from this Province, he should receive Satisfaction. This was sent by a special Messenger from *Lancaster* to *Teedyuscung*, who, upon receiving this, hastened to *Easton*, the Place of Meeting, where he arrived about the Middle of *July*, having brought with him a few principal Men of the *Senecas* as well as from the Rest of the Six Nations. These with his own People made in all about 300 Men, Women and Children. The Governor, with six of his Council, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, four of the Provincial Commissioners, and one or two other Members of Assembly, with a Number of Citizens of *Philadelphia*, and other Inhabitants of the Province, attended this Treaty. Before the public Business begun, *Teedyuscung* applied to the Governor to allow him the Liberty of appointing a Person to take down the Minutes of the Treaty for him with the Secretary appointed by the Governor. He had seen the Secretary of the Province, at the last *Easton* Treaty, throw down his Pen, and declare he would not take Minutes when Complaints were made against the Proprietors. He
did

did not know but the same Thing might happen again, as the same Complaints would be repeated. Besides, the Business to be transacted was of the utmost Importance, and required to be exactly minuted, which he thought might be best done by the Method he proposed. The Governor then presented *George Croghan* to *Teedyuscung*, and the Day following told him, that Sir *William Johnson* “had constituted and appointed Mr. *Croghan* his Deputy-Agent for *Indian* Affairs in this Province, with particular Directions to hear any Complaints, and assist in accommodating the Differences the *Indians* might have with his Majesty’s Subjects, and particularly those set forth at the Treaty in *November* last. As to the Matter of a Secretary, he let *Teedyuscung* know, that, by a particular Agreement between him and Mr. *Croghan* at the last Treaty at *Lancaster*, no one was to take Minutes of the Proceedings but the Secretary appointed by Mr. *Croghan*; that he had been farther told, it was the constant Practice of Sir *William Johnson*, as well as all others who have the Conduct of *Indian* Affairs, to employ *their own* Secretaries.” “And as this “Method, continues he, was settled at *Lancaster* as a Precedent to be observed in future “Treaties, I shall not take upon me to make “any Alteration in this Respect.”

Teedyuscung, looking upon this as a Denial, was much dissatisfied. The Refusal of a Demand so just and reasonable, and which he had made only for the Sake of Truth and Regularity, awakened his Suspicion, and induced him to believe that there was a Design to lead him on blindfold, and in the Dark, or to take Advantage of his Ignorance. Wherefore, considering the Demand, he made no longer as a
Matter

Matter of Favour, but what he had a Right to, and not only as reasonable but absolutely necessary to come at the Truth; and, as it had been a Thing agreed upon in his Council at home, he resolved once more to insist on its being granted, and if the Governor persisted in refusing it to him, he determined not to treat, but to break up and go home. This being made known to the Governor, he told *Teedyuscung*, that as no *Indian* Chief before him ever demanded to have a Clerk, and none had ever been appointed for *Indians* in former Treaties, nay, as he had not even nominated one on the Part of the Province, he could not help declaring it against his Judgment. “However, “to give you a fresh Proof of my Friendship “and Regard, if you insist upon having a Clerk, “I shall no longer oppose it.”

Four Days being spent in this Debate, the public Treaty began next Day, *Teedyuscung* having first nominated a Person to take Minutes of the Proceedings for him. The Person he nominated was one *Charles Thomson*, who had, at the particular Request of Mr. *Peters*, taken Minutes at the last *Easton* Treaty, and of whom, it is likely, the *Indians* had conceived a good Opinion from the close Attention he gave to the Business when the Secretary of the Province seemed confused and threw down his Pen.

The Governor opened the Conference in public, by informing *Teedyuscung*, that he was glad to meet him once more with his People and some of the Six Nations according to the Agreement in *November* last: He put him in Mind of the Question that was asked him relating to the Cause of the Breach between the *English* and *Delawares*, and of the Answer he gave. He let him know that he had laid the
Proceedings

Proceedings of that Treaty before Sir *William Johnson* (appointed by the King sole Agent for *Indian Affairs* in this District) and that he had deputed Mr. *George Croghan* to act in his Behalf, to attend this Treaty, and enquire into every Grievance the *Indians* may have suffered, either from their Brethren of *Pensylvania* or the neighbouring Provinces.

After this Mr. *Croghan*, addressing the *Indians*, told them, “That he was ordered by Sir *William Johnson* to attend this Meeting, and to hear any Complaints they had to make against their Brother *Onas*, in respect to his defrauding them of the Lands mentioned in the last *Easton* Treaty, or any other Injuries they had received from any of his Majesty’s Subjects. And he assured them, in the Name of Sir *William Johnson*, he would do every Thing in his Power to have all Differences amicably adjusted to their Satisfaction, agreeable to his Orders and Instructions.”

In answer to this, *Teedyuscung* having assigned the same Cause of the Difference between him and the *English*, that he had at the last Treaty at *Easton*, and referred the Governor and his People to their own Hearts and Writings for the Truth of what he said; and having hinted at the Injustice of the *English* in taking all the Lands from the *Indians*, and leaving them no Place for a Residence, he told the Governor, that he now put it in his Power to make a lasting Peace: That he wanted nothing but what was reasonable; that this Land was first given to the *Indians* by that Almighty Power who made all Things; “And as, says he, it has
 “pleased Him to convey you to us, and unite
 “us in Friendship in the Manner already mentioned, which was well known by our Ancestors,
 P

“tors, it is now in your Power, and depends
 “entirely on your Care and Diligence, that it
 “may not be broken, as it has been, and if it
 “be broken it will be owing to you—This I
 “ask, that I may have some Place for a Settle-
 “ment, and other good Purposes, in which we
 “may both agree; but as I am a free Agent,
 “as well as you, I must not be bound up, but
 “have Liberty to settle where I please.”

As the *Indian* King had been for four or five Days (*viz.* from the Day before the publick Treaty began, to the Time of his delivering this Speech) kept almost continually drunk, it is not to be wondered that several Parts of his Speech, as it stands in the Minutes, appear dark and confused, as they did to the Governor; more especially as the Interpreter, at the Time the Speech was delivered, was dozed with Liquor and Want of Sleep.

However, after this, being, by the Interposition of his Council, restrained from Liquor, and next Morning, when sober, called upon by Mr. *Croghan*, at the Desire of the Governor, to explain what he had said the Day before, and in particular whether he continued the Complaints he had made last Fall, about his being defrauded of Lands, and where he intended to settle, he made the following Speech:

“The Complaints I made last Fall I yet con-
 “tinue. I think some Lands have been bought
 “by the Proprietary or his Agents from *Indians*
 “who had not a Right to sell, and to whom the
 “Lands did not belong. I think also, when
 “some Lands have been sold to the Proprietary
 “by *Indians* who had a Right to sell to a certain
 “Place, whether that Purchase was to be mea-
 “sured by Miles or Hours Walk, that the
 “Proprietaries have, contrary to Agreement
 “or

“or Bargain, taken in more Lands than they
 “ought to have done, and Lands that belonged
 “to others. I therefore now desire you will
 “produce the Writings and Deeds by which
 “you hold the Land, and let them be read in
 “publick and examined, that it may be fully
 “known from what *Indians* you have bought
 “the Lands you hold, and how far your Pur-
 “chases extend, that Copies of the whole may
 “be laid before King *George*, and published to
 “all the Provinces under his Government.
 “What is fairly bought and paid for I make
 “no farther Demands about. But if any Lands
 “have been bought of *Indians*, to whom these
 “Lands did not belong, and who had no Right
 “to sell them, I expect a Satisfaction for these
 “Lands. And if the Proprietaries have taken
 “in more Lands than they bought of the true
 “Owners, I expect likewise to be paid for that.
 “But as the Persons to whom the Proprietaries
 “may have sold these Lands, which of Right
 “belonged to me, have made some Settlements,
 “I do not want to disturb them, or to force
 “them to leave them, but I expect a full Satis-
 “faction shall be made to the true Owners for
 “these Lands, tho’ the Proprietaries, as I said
 “before, might have bought them from Per-
 “sons that had no Right to sell them. As we
 “intend to settle at *Wyomen*, we want to have
 “certain Boundaries fixed between you and us,
 “and a certain Tract of Land fixed, which it
 “shall not be lawful for us or our Children
 “ever to sell, nor for you or any of your
 “Children ever to buy. We would have the
 “Boundaries fixed all around agreeable to the
 “Draught we give you (here he drew a Draught
 “with Chalk on the Table) that we may not
 “be pressed on any Side, but have a certain
 “Country

“Country fixed for our Use and the Use of
 “our Children for ever. And as we intend
 “to make a Settlement at *Wyomen*, and to
 “build different Houses from what we have
 “done heretofore, such as may last not only
 “for a little Time, but for our Children after
 “us; we desire you will assist us in making our
 “Settlements, and send us Persons to instruct
 “us in building Houses, and in making such
 “Necessaries as shall be needful; and that Per-
 “sons be sent to instruct us in the Christian
 “Religion, which may be for our future Wel-
 “fare, and to instruct our Children in Reading
 “and Writing; and that a fair Trade be estab-
 “lished between us, and such Persons appoint-
 “ed to conduct and manage these Affairs as
 “shall be agreeable to us.”

Notwithstanding the Messages Mr. *Croghan*
 and the Governor had sent to *Teedyuscung*, the
 Promises made at Lancaster, and what both
 had said in the beginning of the present Treaty,
 of their Willingness and Readiness to hear the
 Complaints of the *Indians*, and to redress their
 Grievances, yet when the Governor came to
 answer this Speech, he told *Teedyuscung* that
 “he must refer him to Sir *William Johnson*;
 that the Orders of his Majesty’s Ministers
 were, that the *Indians* Complaints should be
 heard before Sir *William Johnson* only; that
 Mr. *Croghan* had informed him he had no
 Power to suffer any Altercations on this Com-
 plaint, and that he did not think it would be
 for the Good of his Majesty’s Service, &c.”

“As to the Lands between *Shamokin* and
Wyomen the Proprietaries had never bought
 them of the *Indians*, and therefore never claimed
 them under any *Indian* Purchase; that he was
 pleased with the Choice they had made of that
 Place,

Place, and would use all the Means in his Power to have these Lands settled upon him and his Posterity agreeable to his Request; and as to the other Purposes for which he desired this Settlement of Lands, they were so reasonable, that he made no Doubt, but, on his Recommendation of them to the Assembly, they would chearfully enable him to comply with them."

This Speech being delivered, the *Indian* King and his Council immediately withdrew to deliberate upon it. The Result of this Council was, that they would not go to Sir *William Johnson*, and that the Reasons of their Refusal might appear in full Strength, they agreed to follow the Example of the Governor, and to have their Speech written down and examined in Council, and then read to the Governor. The Manner in which the King had before delivered himself in publick induced the Council to press this Measure now.

Accordingly, next Morning they again met, sent for the Secretary, and had the Speech written down and carefully examined. But when the King met the Governor at the publick Conference, and desired that what was written down in Council might be read and accepted as his Speech, both the Governor and Mr. *Croghan* joined in opposing it. After some Debate *Teedyuscung*, finding they would not grant him the Privilege they had taken themselves, informed them from his Memory, of the Substance of what was agreed upon in Council; and after taking Notice of the Inconsistency that appeared to him in the Governor's telling him at one Time, that *George Croghan* was Sir *William Johnson*'s Deputy, and appointed to act between the *English* and *Indians*,
and

and at another, that he had no Power, &c. he gave the Governor to understand that he would not go to Sir *William Johnson*; first, because he did not know Sir *William*; next, because there were the Nations who had been instrumental to this Misunderstanding, by the Manner in which they had heretofore treated them, and by selling Lands in this Province, and, lastly, because the deferring Matters might again embroil us in War. He further told the Governor, that he then wanted nothing for his Lands, but only that the Deeds might be produced, and well looked into, and Copies of them taken and put with the Minutes of the Treaty. This done he offered to confirm a Peace immediately: And, as to the Injury he imagined he had received in Land Affairs, he left that to be decided by the King, and said he would wait his Determination. “Let
 “Copies of the Deeds be sent to the King,
 “and let him judge. I want nothing of the
 “Land till the King hath sent Letters back,
 “and then if any of the Lands be found to
 “belong to me, I expect to be paid for it, and
 “not before.”

The Governor, finding that *Teedyuscung* was not to be put off, resolved in Appearance to comply with his Request. But as it was agreed not to deliver up all the Deeds, and as this might give Umbrage to the *Indians*, Mr. *Weiser* and Mr. *Croghan* were privately sent to practise with the King, and to get him to be content with the Delivery of a Part, alledging that the whole of the Deeds was not brought up, but such only as were necessary, and relating to his Complaint and the late Purchases. Part of two Days being spent in these Practices, and the *Indians* in the mean Time plied with
 Liquor,

Liquor, the Governor met the *Indians*, and having assigned some late Orders from the King's Ministers as the Cause of his referring *Teedyuscung* to Sir *William Johnson*, he told him, that as he so earnestly desired to see the Deeds for the Lands, mentioned in the last Treaty, he had brought them with him, and would give *Teedyuscung* Copies of them agreeable to his Request. Hereupon some Deeds being laid upon the Table, the Governor desired that all further Debates and Altercations concerning Lands might rest till they should be fully examined and looked into by Sir *William Johnson*, in order to be transmitted to the King for his Royal Determination. When *Teedyuscung* was made sensible that the Deeds were delivered, without examining to see what Deeds they were, he immediately, in the Name of the Ten Nations, solemnly concluded a Peace. The Reading the Deeds was put off till next Day. In the mean Time, upon Examination, it was found very few Deeds were delivered, and those not sufficient to throw full Light into the Matters in Dispute, which shewed there was no Design of doing Justice, or of making a full and candid Enquiry into the Complaints of the *Indians*. The Deed of 1718 was withheld; a Paper, called a Copy of the last *Indian* Purchase in 1686, tho' not even attested to be a Copy, was produced for a Deed. Mr. *Thomson*, who was *Teedyuscung*'s Secretary, having, before he knew there was any Intention of nominating him to take Minutes, had an Opportunity of reading the Treaty in 1728, and seeing there the Strefs that was laid upon the Deed of 1718, and considering farther that the Governor, as being but lately arrived, might be unacquainted with that Matter, thought he
could

could not, consistent with his Duty, do less than inform the Governor there was such a Deed. This he did by a Letter which he delivered into the Governor's own Hands. This, however, had not the desired Effect: For the next Day, when the Deeds were again produced, that of 1718 was still wanting. The Proprietary's Agents, it seems, had laid the Plan, and it was necessary to prosecute that at all Adventures, let the Consequence be what it would. For this Reason, doubtless, it was that the Deed of 1718 was withheld; that the Paper, called a Copy, was produced for a Deed, tho' there was no Kind of Certificate to it to attest that it was even a Copy, and Blanks were left in two of the most material Places, which it cannot well be imagined a true Deed could have, or that the *Indians* would ever knowingly have executed. However, it was necessary this should be produced, because on it depended the Release of 1737, by virtue of which the Walk was made, and the greatest Part of the Land in Dispute taken from the *Indians*. Besides these, were produced a Release from the *Indians* of the Five Nations of the Lands on *Susquehanna* River, *October* 11. 1736. A Release from the Six Nations of Lands below the Mountains eastward to *Delaware* River, dated *October* 25, 1736, with another indorsed on it, dated the 9th *July*, 1754. And, lastly, a Deed of Release for *Indian* Purchases, dated 22d *August* 1749.

Upon finding that the Deed of 1718 was not delivered, notwithstanding the Notice given to the Governor, *Teedyuscung's* Secretary informed Mr. *Croghan*, the King's Deputy-Agent, thereof, by a Letter written and delivered into his Hands at the Table in the Time of the public

public Treaty. The Reason for not mentioning this Matter in public was, least, if it came to the *Indians* Ears that they were thus abused, they might break up the Conference, and go away dissatisfied. The Ferment among the *Indians*, and the Resolution they had taken to go home but the Evening before, upon imagining that some Delays in the public Business proceeded from a Backwardness in the Governor to conclude a Peace, gave apparent Grounds for this Fear. For this same Reason it was that the Commissioners from the Assembly, tho' they were sensible the necessary Deeds were not delivered, yet at the Time took no public Notice of it, being in Hopes that, upon more mature Deliberation, the Governor would order what were farther necessary to be afterwards added, and sent to the King and Council. For, as a just Determination could not be given, while Papers and Deeds of such Importance were withheld, and as the Lives of many of his Majesty's Subjects, and the Alliance of many *Indian* Nations, depended upon a just Determination, it was not to be imagined that the Governor would join in deceiving the King and his Council in a Matter of so great Consequence.

After the foregoing Deeds and Papers were produced, and Copies of them given, *Teedyuscung* requested that Mr. *Norris*, Speaker of the Assembly, together with the Assembly, would look into these Matters, and send to the King a Copy of the Deeds and Minutes of this Treaty, and he hoped the Governor and Mr. *Croghan* would have no Objection to this.

Here then the Affair rests. If the proper Papers, and a true State of the Case, be laid before the King and Council, for a just Determination ;

mination: If the *Indians* be assisted in making this Settlement, secured in their Property, and instructed in Religion and the civil Arts, agreeable to their Request, and the Trade with them regulated and set on such a Footing that they may be secure from Abuse, there is not the least Doubt but the Alliance and Friendship of the *Indians* may be for ever secured to the *British* Interest; but, should these Things be neglected, the Arms of the *French* are open to receive them.

We have already experienced the Cruelties of an *Indian* War, and there are more Instances than one to shew they are capable of being our most useful Friends, or most dangerous Enemies. And whether, for the future, they are to be the one or the other, seems now to be in our own Power. How long Matters will rest so, or whether, if the present Opportunity be neglected, such another will ever return, is altogether uncertain. It becomes Men of Wisdom and Prudence to leave nothing to Chance where Reason can decide.

A LIST

*A LIST of the Indian Treaties, and
other Records, examined in making the
foregoing Extracts.*

TREATY between Governor <i>Keith</i>	}	1722
and the <i>Indians</i> at <i>Conestogo</i> , <i>April</i>		
Gov. <i>Gordon</i> and the 5 Nations at	}	1727
<i>Philadelphia</i> , — — <i>July</i>		
Minutes of Council on <i>Indian Affairs</i> ,	}	1728
— — <i>April</i> 18.		
Treaty between Gov. <i>Gordon</i> and the Co-	}	1728
nestogoes, <i>Delawares</i> , <i>Shawanese</i> , and		
<i>Canawese Indians</i> , <i>May</i> and <i>June</i>		
— — <i>Ditto</i> — — and 5 Nations, <i>Oct.</i> 10.		1728
— — <i>Ditto</i> — — and ditto <i>May</i>		1729
Treaty between Gov. <i>Gordon</i> , in the Pre-	}	1732
sence of <i>Thomas Penn</i> , Esq; and the		
<i>Shawanese</i> , — — <i>Sept.</i>		
— — <i>Ditto</i> — — dit. and the Six Na-	}	1732
tions, — — <i>Aug.</i> and <i>Sept.</i>		
— — President <i>Logan</i> and ditto		1736
Deed of Confirmation of the Walking-	}	1733
Purchase, 1737, containing Recitals		
of several Treaties or Meetings,		to
Minutes of Council relating to <i>Indian</i>	}	1737
Conferences, 1741, not delivered to		
the Assembly till — —		
Treaty between Governor <i>Thomas</i> and	}	1742
Six Nations, — — <i>July</i>		
Treaty held at <i>Lancaster</i> with the Six	}	1744
Nations, Governors of <i>Pensylvania</i> ,		
<i>Virginia</i> and <i>Maryland</i> , — <i>June</i>		
— — Gov. <i>Thomas</i> and <i>Indians</i> , at <i>Phi-</i>	}	1744
<i>ladelphia</i> , — — <i>October</i>		
		Treaties

Treaties held at <i>Albany</i> with Six Nations, Government of <i>New-York, Massachus-</i> <i>setts, Conecticut and Pensylvania, Oct.</i>	1745
———At <i>Albany</i> with ditto, — Gover- nor of <i>New-York</i> , ——— Sept.	1746
Votes of Assembly of <i>Pensylvania</i> , Vol.	1747
III. Sundry Minutes on <i>Indian Affairs</i>	1748
Treaty held at <i>Philadelphia</i> between Go- vernor <i>Hamilton</i> and the Six Nations,	1749
<i>C. Weiser's</i> Letters to the Secretary, and Governor <i>Hamilton's</i> Messages to the Assembly before and after the said Treaty, ——— ———	1749
Secretary <i>Peter's</i> Report to Governor <i>Hamilton</i> of his Proceedings at <i>Ju-</i> <i>niata</i> , ——— ———	1750
<i>C. Weiser</i> (<i>Indian</i> Interpreter) his Jour- nal of Proceedings at <i>Albany</i> ,	1751
Treaty held at <i>Carlisle</i> between the Go- vernment of <i>Pensylvania</i> and the <i>Ohio</i> <i>Indians</i> , ——— ———	1753
Private Minutes of Proceedings at <i>Albany</i> Treaty, and Deed of <i>Indian</i> Purchase,	1754
<i>C. Weiser's</i> Journal of his Conferences with <i>Indians</i> at <i>Aubgwick</i> , ———	1754
Conferences between Governor <i>Morris</i> and <i>Indians</i> at <i>Philadelphia</i> , Aug.	1755
<i>Indian</i> Intelligence obtained in Confe- rence with the Half-King, <i>Scarroyady</i> ,	1754
and others, at several Times,	1755
Conferences between Gov. <i>Morris</i> and <i>Scarroyady</i> , &c. March and April	1756
———between some Quakers and <i>Scar-</i> <i>royady</i> , ——— April	1756
———between Gov. <i>Morris</i> and Capt. <i>Newcastle</i> at <i>Jagrea</i> , ——— June	1756
———between ditto ——— and ditto, July	1756
Minutes	

- Minutes of Conferences between Gov. *Morris* and *Teedyuscung*, King of the *Delawares*, _____ *July* } 1756
- _____ditto between Gov. *Denny* and *ditto* at *Easton*, _____ *Nov.* } 1756
- Minutes of Conferences between *ditto* and the Six Nations at *Lancaster*, *May* } 1757
- _____between *ditto* and *Teedyuscung*, and others, at *Easton*, _____ *Aug.* } 1757
- Conferences and Treaties between Sir *William Johnson* and the Six Nations, *Shawanese*, and others, from *December* 1755 to *February* 1756. *London* printed.
- Sir *William Johnson's* Treaty with the *Shawanese* and *Delaware Indians*, *July* 1756. Published at *New-York*, 1757.
- _____Treaty with *Shawanese*, *Nanticoke*s, and *Mobickanders*, *April* 1757. Published at *New-York*.

Thirteen Indian Deeds taken from the public Records, viz.

- 2d *October* 1685, For the Lands from *Duck-Creek* to *Chester-Creek*.
- 12th *January* 1696, For the Lands on both Sides of *Susquehannab*, lately purchased by *Thomas Dungan* of the *Seneca* and *Susquehannab Indians*.
- 5th *July* 1697, For the Lands from *Pennopeck-Creek* to *Neshameny*.
- 13th *Sept.* 1700, For the Lands on both Sides of *Susquehannab*, so far as the *Susquehannab Indians* have a Right to claim, confirming the Grant formerly made by Col. *Dungan* to *William Penn.*

23d *April*

- 23d *April* 1701, Articles of Friendship and Agreement between *William Penn* and the *Susquehannab*, *Shawonab* and *North Patomack* Indians.
- 17th *Sept.* 1718, *Sassoonan*, King of the *Delawares*, and his six Counsellors, to *William Penn*, their Deed of Confirmation of all former Sales of Lands from *Duck-Creek* to the Mountains on this Side *Lechay*.
- 11th *October* 1736, Release of all the Lands on *Susquehannab* to the Southward of the *Kittocktinny* Hills from the Chiefs of the Six Nations to *John*, *Thomas* and *Richard Penn*, Esquires.
- 25th *October* 1736, Release from some of the Chiefs of the Six Nations (Parties to the last mentioned Deed) of all their Right to the Lands in the Province of *Pensylvania*, southward of the *Kittocktinny* Hills. On this Deed appears an Indorsement made at *Albany*, 9th *July* 1754, confirming the Deed, and promising to sell no Lands within these Limits to any Person save *Thomas* and *Richard Penn*, Esquires.
- 25th *August* 1737, A Deed of Confirmation of a Purchase therein recited to have been formerly made of so much Land as a Man could go over in a Day and half, beginning at *Pitcock's* Falls on *Delaware*, thence westward to *Neshameny*, and to the Head of the most westerly Branch of the said Creek, and thence to the End of the Walk, &c.
- 23d *July* 1748, Articles of Friendship between the Chiefs of the *Tweghtwees*, and the Government of *Pensylvania*.
- 22d *August* 1749, Release of the Chiefs of the Six Nations of Lands between the *Kittocktinny*

tinny Mountains and *Maghoinoy* on *Susquebannah*, and the said Mountains and *Lechawacksein* on *Delaware*.

6th July 1754, Release from the Chiefs of the Six Nations of Lands on the West-Side of *Susquebannah*, beginning at the *Kittocktinny* Hills, and thence to a Creek northward of the *Kittocktinny* Hills, called *Kayanondinkagh*, thence North-West and by West to the western Bounds of *Pensylvania*, thence to the *Maryland* Line, thence by said Line to the South-Side of the *Kittocktinny* Hills, thence by the said South-Side of the said Hills to the Place of Beginning.

9th July 1754, An Indorsement made by some of the Parties to the said Deed, promising to sell no Lands within the Limits of *Pensylvania* to any but the *Penns*.

A Paper, said to be a Copy of a Deed, dated 28th of 6th Month 1686, and indorsed, Copy of the last *Indian* Purchase. To give it some Credit, it has been confidently asserted, that the said Indorsement is of the Hand-Writing of *William Penn*; but on its being produced at *Easton*, and examined, it appeared clearly, and was confessed by the Secretary and several others acquainted with Mr. *Penn*'s Hand-Writing, not to be his, nor indeed is it like it. Its chief Mark of Credit is, that it appears to be an antient Paper. But there is no Certificate of its being a Copy, nor was it ever recorded. As the Name of *Joseph Wood* is put as one of the Evidences, and as a Person of that Name declared at *Pensbury* 1734, he was present at an *Indian* Treaty in 1686, and it is not known there
was

was any other of the Name, it seems extraordinary, if this be a genuine Copy, that he was not then called upon to make some Proof of it.

There is a considerable Number of *Indian* Deeds in the Hands of the Secretary for Lands purchased at several Times, and particularly for the Lands on the Branches of *Schuylkil* above *Tulpyhockin*, purchased in 1732 and 1733, which it was particularly desired might be produced, but they will neither record nor produce them. There is Reason to believe the said last mentioned Deed would particularly militate against the subsequent Proceedings from 1733 to 1737.

F I N I S.

A P P E N D I X.

AS the withdrawing of the *Ohio Indians* last Summer from the *French* Interest, was of great Importance to the Success of General *Forbes's* Expedition against *Fort Duquesne*, it may be some Satisfaction to the curious Reader to be informed what Means were made Use of by the General and the Government of *Pennsylvania* to bring about a Peace with those Indians, or at least to engage them in a Neutrality. The great Danger to the General's Army was, that it might be attacked and routed in its March by the Indians, who are so expert in Wood-Fights, that a very small Number of them are superior to a great Number of our Regulars, and generally defeat them. If our Army could once arrive before the Fort, there was no Doubt but a regular Attack would soon reduce it. Therefore a proper Person was sought for, who would venture among those hostile Indians with a Message; and, in the mean Time, the General moved slowly and surely. *Christian Frederick Post* was at length pitched on for this Service. He is a plain, honest, religiously disposed Man, who, from a conscientious Opinion of Duty, formerly went to live among the *Mohickon* Indians, in order to convert them to *Christianity*. He married twice among them, and lived with them seventeen Years, whereby he attained a perfect Knowledge of their Language and Customs. Both his Wives being dead, he had returned to live among the

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the white People; but at the Request of the Governor he readily undertook this hazardous Journey. How he executed his Trust, his *Journal* will show. As he is not a Scholar, the candid Reader will make Allowance for Defects in Method or Expression. The Form may seem uncouth, but the matter is interesting. The Indian Manner of Treating on public Affairs, which this *Journal* affords a compleat Idea of, is likewise a Matter of no small Curiosity: And the Event of *Post's* Negotiation (as well as the Experience of our bad Success in the Indian War) shows the Rightness of that Measure continually inculcated and recommended by *some* in *Pennsylvania*, of reducing the *Indians* to Reason by *Treaty* rather than by *Force*.

The JOURNAL of *Christian Frederick Post*, in his Journey from *Philadelphia* to the *Ohio*, on a Message from the Government of *Pennsylvania* to the *Delaware*, *Shawanese* and *Mingo* Indians settled there, and formerly in Alliance with the *English*.

July the 15th, 1758.

THIS Day I received Orders from his Honour the Governor to set out on my intended Journey, and proceeded as far as *Germantown*, where I found all the Indians drunk. *Willamegicken* returned to *Philadelphia* for a Horse that was promised him.

16th. This day I waited for the said *Willamegicken* till near Noon, and when he came, being very drunk*, he could proceed no further, so that I left him and went on to *Bethlehem*†.

17th. I arrived at *Bethlehem*, and prepared for my Journey.

* All Indians are excessively fond of Rum, and will be drunk whenever they can get it.

† The Moravian Brethren's Settlement.

18th. I read over both the last Treaties, that at *Easton* and that at *Philadelphia*, and made myself acquainted with the Particulars of each.

19th. With much Difficulty I persuaded the Indians to leave *Bethlehem*, and travelled this Day no farther than *Hayes's*, having a hard Shower of Rain.

20th. Arrived at Fort *Allen*.

21st. I called my Company together, to know if we should proceed. They complained they were sick, and must rest that Day. This Day I think *Teedyuscung* laid many Obstacles in my Way, and was very much against my proceeding; he said he was afraid I should never return, and that the Indians would kill me. About Dinner-time two Indians arrived from *Wyoming*, with an Account that *Teedyuscung's* Son *Hans Jacob* was returned, and brought News from the *French* and *Allegheny* Indians. *Teedyuscung* then called a Council, and proposed that I should only go to *Wyoming*, and return, with the Message his Son had brought, to *Philadelphia*. I made Answer that it was too late, that he should have proposed That in *Philadelphia*, for that the Writings containing my Orders were so drawn, as obliged me to go, though I should lose my Life.

22d. I desired my Companions to prepare to set out, upon which *Teedyuscung* called them all together in the Fort, and protested against my going. His Reasons were, that he was afraid the Indians would kill me, or the *French* get me; and if that should be the Case, he should be very sorry, and did not know what he should do. I gave for Answer, "That I did not know what to think of their Conduct. It is plain," said I, "that the *French* have a publick Road* to your Towns, yet you will not let your own Flesh and Blood, the *English*, come near them; which is very hard: and if that be the Case, the *French* must be your Masters." I added, that,

* An *Indian* Expression meaning Free Admission.

if I died in the Undertaking, it would be as much for the *Indians* as *English*, and that I hoped my Journey would be of this Advantage, that it would be the Means of saving the Lives of many Hundreds of the *Indians*: Therefore I was resolved to go forward, taking my Life in my Hand, as one ready to part with it for their Good. Immediately after I had spoken thus, three rose up and offered to go with me the nearest Way; and we concluded to go through the Inhabitants under the blue Mountains to Fort *Augusta* on *Susquehannah*, where we arrived the 25th.

It gave me great Pain to observe many Plantations deserted and laid waste; and I could not but reflect on the Distress the poor Owners must be drove to, who once lived in Plenty; and I prayed the Lord to restore Peace and Prosperity to the Distressed.

At Fort *Augusta* we were entertained very kindly, had our Horses shod, and one, being lame, we exchanged for another. Here we received, by *Indians* from *Diabogo**, the disagreeable News that our Army was, as they said, entirely cut off at *Ticonderoga*, which discouraged one of my Companions (*Lappopetung's* Son) so much, that he would proceed no further. *Shamoking Daniel* here asked me if thought he should be satisfied for his Trouble in going with me. I told him every Body that did any Service for the Province I thought would be paid.

27th. They furnished us here with every Necessary for our Journey, and we set out with good Courage. After we rode about ten Miles, we were caught in a hard Gust of Rain.

28th. We came to *Wekeeponall*, where the Road turns off for *Wyoming*, and slept this Night at *Queenashawakee*.

29th. We crossed the *Susquehannah* over the Bigg Island. My Companions were now very fearful, and

† An *Indian* Settlement towards the Heads of *Susquehannah*.
this

this Night went a great Way out of the Road to sleep without Fire, but could not sleep for the Musquetoës and Vermin.

30th and 31st. We were glad it was Day, that we might set out. We got upon the Mountains and had heavy Rains all Night. The Heavens alone were our Covering, and we accepted of all that was poured down from thence.

August the 1st. We saw three Hoops* on a Bush: To one of them there remained some long white Hair. Our Horses left us, I suppose not being fond of the dry Food on the Mountains: With a good deal of Trouble we found them again. We slept this Night on the same Mountain.

2d. We came across several Places where two Poles painted red were stuck in the Ground by the *Indians*, to which they tie their Prisoners when they stop at Night in their Return from their Incursions. We arrived this Night at *Shinglimubee*, where was another of the same Posts. 'Tis a disagreeable and melancholy Sight to see the Means they make use of (according to their savage Way) to distress others.

3d. We came to a Part of a River called *Tobeco*, over the Mountains a very bad Road.

4th. We lost one of our Horses and with much Difficulty found him, but was detained a whole Day on that Account.

I had much Conversation with *Pisquetument*†, of which I think to inform myself further when I get to my Journey's End.

5th. We set out early this Day and made a good long Stretch, crossed the big River *Tobeco* and lodged between two Mountains. I had the Misfortune to lose my Pocket-Book with three Pounds five Shillings‡,

* Little Hoops on which the *Indians* stretch and dress the raw Scalps.

† An *Indian* Chief that travelled with him.

‡ The Money of *Pennsylvania*, being Paper, is chiefly carried in Pocket-Books.

and fundry other Things: What Writings it contained were illegible to any Body but myself.

6th. We passed all the Mountains, and the big River *Weshawaucks*, and crossed a fine Meadow two miles in Length, where we slept that Night, having nothing to eat.

7th. We came in Sight of Fort *Venango*, belonging to the *French*, situate between two Mountains in a Fork of the *Ohio* River. I prayed the Lord to blind them, as he did the Enemies of *Lot* and *Elisha*, that I might pass unknown. When we arrived, the Fort being on the other Side of the River, we halloo'd and desired them to fetch us over, which they were afraid to do, but shewed us a Place where we might ford. We slept that Night within half Gun-Shot of the Fort.

8th. This Morning I hunted for my Horse round the Fort within ten Yards of it. The Lord heard my Prayer, and I passed unknown till we had mounted our Horses to go off, when two *Frenchmen* came to take leave of the *Indians*, and were much surprized at seeing me, but said nothing.

By what I could learn of *Pisquetumen* and the *Indians* who went into the Fort, the Garrison consisted of only six Men and an Officer blind of one Eye. They enquired much of the *Indians* concerning the *English*, whether they knew of any Party coming to attack them, which they were very apprehensive of.

9th. Heavy Rains all Night and Day: We slept on swampy Ground.

10th. We imagined we were near *Kushkushkee*; and having travelled three Miles, we met three *Frenchmen*, who appeared very shy of us, but said nothing more than to enquire, whether we knew of any *English* coming against Fort *Venango*.

After we travelled two miles farther, we met with an *Indian* and one that I took to be a runagade *English Indian-Trader*: He spoke good *English*, was very curious in examining every Thing, particularly the silver Medal about *Pisquitumen's* Neck. He appeared by
his

his Countenance to be guilty. We enquired of them where we were, and found we were lost, and within twenty Miles of Fort *Duquesne*. We struck out of the Road to the Right, and slept between two Mountains; and being destitute of Food, two went to hunt and the others to seek a Road, but to no Purpose.

11th. We went to the Place where they had killed two Deers, and *Pisquitumen* and I roasted the Meat. Two went to hunt for the Road to know which Way we should go: One came back and had found a Road; the other lost himself.

12th. The rest of us hunted for him, but in vain; so, as we could not find him, we concluded to set off, leaving such Marks that, if he returned, he might know which Way to follow us; and we left him some Meat. We came to the River *Conaquonashon*, where was an old *Indian* Town. We were then fifteen Miles from *Kushkushkee*.

There we stopt and sent forward *Pisquetumen* with four Strings of Wampum, to apprise the Town of our coming*, with this Message, “Brother†, thy
“Brethren are come a great Way and want to see
“thee at thy Fire, to *snoak that good Tobacco‡* which
“our good Grandfathers used to snoak. Turn thy
“Eyes once more upon that Road by which I came¶.
“I bring thee Words of great Consequence from the
“Governor and People of *Pennsylvania* and from the
“King of England. Now I desire thee to call all
“the Kings and Captains from all the Towns, that
“none may be missing. I do not desire that my
“Words may be hid, or spoken under Cover. I

* According to the Rules of *Indian Politeness*, you must never go into a Town without sending a previous Message to denote your Arrival, or standing at a Distance from the Town and hallooing till some come out to conduct you in. Otherwise you are thought *as rude as Whitemen*.

† When the People of a Town, or of a Nation, are addressed, the *Indians* always use the singular Number.

‡ *i. e.* To confer in a friendly Manner.

¶ *i. e.* Call to mind our antient friendly Intercourse.

“want

“want to speak loud that all the *Indians* may hear me.
 “I hope thou wilt bring me on the Road and lead
 “me into the Town. I blind the *French* that they
 “may not see me, and I stop their Ears that they
 “may not hear the great News I bring you.”

About Noon we met some *Shawanese* that used to live at *Wyoming*. They knew me, and received me very kindly. I saluted them, and assured them the Government of *Pennsylvania* wished them well and wished to live in Peace and Friendship with them. Before we came to the Town, two Men came to meet us and lead us in. King *Beaver* shewed us a large House to lodge in*. The People soon came and shaked Hands with us. The Number was about sixty young able Men. Soon after King *Beaver* came and told his People, “Boys, hearken, We sat here, without
 “ever expecting again to see our Brethren the *English*;
 “but now one of them is brought before you, that
 “you may see your Brethren the *English* with your own
 “Eyes; and I wish you may take it into Consider-
 “ation.”—Afterwards he turned to me and said,

“Brother, I am very glad to see you; I never
 “thought we should have had the Opportunity to see
 “one another more; but now I am very glad, and
 “thank God† who has brought you to us. It is a
 “great Satisfaction to me.”—I said, “Brother, I re-
 “joice in my Heart and thank God who has brought
 “me to you. I bring you joyful News from the Go-
 “vernor and People of *Pennsylvania*, and from your
 “Children the *Friends*‡: And, as I have Words of
 “great Consequence, I will lay them before you when
 “all the Kings and Captains are called together from
 “the other Towns. I wish there may not be a Man

* Every *Indian* Town has a large Cabin for the Entertainment of Strangers by the public Hospitality.

† The *Indians* have learned from the *English* the general Notion of a supreme good Being.

‡ That is, the *Quakers*, for whom the *Indians* have a particular Regard.

of them missing, but that they may be all here to hear.”

In the Evening King *Beaver* came again and told me, they had held a Council, and sent out to all their Towns, but it would take five Days before they could all come together. I thanked him for his Care. Ten Captains came and saluted me. One said to the others; “We never expected to see our Brethren the *English* again, but now God has granted us once more to shake Hands with them, which we will not forget.” They sat by my Fire till Midnight.

14th. The People crowded to my House, it was full. We had much Talk. *Delaware George* said he had not slept all Night, so much had he been engaged on Account of my Coming. The *French* came and would speak with me. There were then 15 of them building Houses for the *Indians*. The Captain is gone with 15 to another Town. He can speak the Indian Tongue well. The *Indians* say he is a cunning Fox; that they get a great deal of Goods from the *French*; and that the *French* cloath the *Indians* every Year, Men Women, and Children, and give them as much Powder and Lead as they want.

15th. *Beaver King* was informed, that *Teedyuscung* had said he had turned the Hatchet against the *French* by Advice of the *Allegany Indians*; this he blamed, as they had never sent him such Advice. But being informed it was his own doing, without any Persuasion of the Governor, he was easy on that Head. *Delaware Daniel* prepar'd a Dinner, to which he invited me and all the Kings and Captains: And when I came, he said, ‘Brother, we are as glad to see you among us as if we dined with the Governor and People in *Philadelphia*. We have thought a great deal since you have been here. We never thought so much before*’. I thanked them for their kind Reception; I said it was some-

* That is, We look on your coming as a Matter of Importance, it engages our Attention.

thing great, that God had spared our Lives to see one another again in the old Brother-like Love and Friendship. There were in all 13 who dined together.

In the Evening they danced at my Fire, first the Men and then the Women, till after Midnight.

On the 16th, the King and the Captains called on me privately. They wanted to hear what *Teedyuscung* had said of them, and begged me to take out the Writings. I read to them what *Teedyuscung* had said, and told them, as *Teedyuscung* had said he would speak so loud, that all at *Allegheny*, and beyond, should hear it, I would conceal nothing from them. They said they never sent any such Advice (as above mentioned) to *Teedyuscung*, nor ever sent a Message at all to the Government; and now the *French* were here, their Captain would come to hear, and this would make Disturbance. I then told them I would read the rest, and leave out that Part, and they might tell the Kings and Captains of it when they came together.

17th. Early this Morning they called all the People together to clean the Place where they intended to hold the Council, it being in the middle of the Town. *Kushkushkee* is divided into four Towns, each at a Distance from the others, and the whole consists of about 90 Houses and 200 able Warriors.

About Noon two publick Messengers arrived from the *Indians* at Fort *Duquesne* and the other Towns. They brought three large Belts and two Bundles of Strings*; there came with them a French Captain and 15 Men. The two Messengers insisted that I should go with them to Fort *Duquesne*; that there were there *Indians* of eight Nations who wanted to hear me;

* These Belts and Strings are made of Shell Beads called *Wampum*. The Wampum serves among the Indians as Money; of it they also make their Necklaces, Bracelets, and other Ornaments. Belts and Strings of it are used in all public Negotiations: to each Belt or String there is connected a Message, Speech or Part of a Speech to be delivered with the Belt by the Messenger or Speaker. These Belts also serve for Records, being worked with Figures composed of Beads of different Colours to assist the Memory.

that

that if I brought good News, they inclined to leave off War and live in Friendship with the English. The above Messengers being Indian Captains were very furly. When I went to shake Hands with one of them, he gave me his little Finger, the other withdrew his Hand entirely, upon which I appeared as stout as either, and withdrew my Hand as quick as I could. Their Rudeness to me was taken very ill by the other Captains, who treated them in the same Manner in their Turn.

I told them my Order was to go to the *Indian* Towns, Kings and Captains, and not to the *French*; that the *English* were at War with the *French*, but not with those *Indians* who withdrew from the *French* and would be at Peace with the *English*.

King *Beaver* invited me to his House to Dinner, and afterwards he invited the *French* Captain, and said before the *Frenchman*, that the *Indians* were very proud to see one of their Brothers the *English* among them, at which the *French* Captain appeared low-spirited, and seemed to eat his Dinner with very little Appetite.

In the Afternoon the *Indian* Kings and Captains called me aside, and desired me to read them the Writings that I had. First I read part of the *Easton* Treaty to them, but they presently stopped me and would not hear it; I then began with the Articles of Peace made with the *Indians* there. They stopped me again and said, they had nothing to say to any Treaty or League of Peace made at *Easton*, nor had any Thing to do with *Teedyuscung*; that if I had nothing to say to them from the Government or Governor, they would have nothing to say to me. And farther said, they had hitherto been at War with the *English*, and had never expected to be at Peace with them again; and that there were six of their Men now gone to War against them with other *Indians*; that had there been Peace between us, those Men should not have gone to War. I then shewed them the Belts

Belts and Strings from the Governor, and they again told me to lay aside *Teedyuscung* and the Peace made by him; for that they had nothing to do with it*. I desired them to suffer me to produce my Papers, and I would read what I had to say to them.

18th. *Delaware George* is very active in endeavouring to establish a Peace. I believe he is in earnest. Hitherto they have all treated me kindly.

In the Afternoon all the Kings and Captains were called together, and sent for me to their Council. King *Beaver* first addressed himself to the Captains; and afterwards spoke to me as follows; “Brother, ‘You have been here now five days by our Fire†. ‘We have sent to all the Kings and Captains desiring ‘them to come to our Fire, and hear the good News ‘you brought. Yesterday they sent two Captains to ‘acquaint us, they were glad to hear our *English* Bro- ‘ther was come among us, and were desirous to hear ‘the good News he brought; and since there are a ‘great many Nations that want to see our Brother, ‘they have invited us to their Fire, that they may ‘hear us all. Now, Brother, we have but one great ‘Fire; so, Brother, *by this String* we will take you in ‘our Arms, and deliver you into the Arms of the ‘other Kings, and when we have called all the Na- ‘tions there, we will hear the good News you have ‘brought.’

Delivers four Strings.

King *Beaver*, *Shingas*, and *Delaware George* spoke as follows, ‘Brother, we alone cannot make a Peace, ‘it would be of no Signification; for as all the *Indians* ‘from the Sun Rise to the Sun Set are united in one

* The Peace made with *Teedyuscung*, was for the *Delawares*, &c. on *Susquehannah* only, and did not include the *Indians* on the *Ohio*, they having no Deputies at the Treaty. But he had promised to *halloo* to them; that is, send Messengers to them, and endeavour to draw them into the Peace, which he accordingly did.

† A *Fire* in public Affairs, signifies, among the *Indians*, a *Council*.
‘Body,

‘ Body, ’tis necessary that the whole should join in
 ‘ the Peace, or it can be no Peace; and we can assure
 ‘ you, all the *Indians* a great Way from this, even
 ‘ beyond the Lakes, are desirous of and wish for a
 ‘ Peace with the *English*, and have desired us, as we
 ‘ are the nearest of Kin, if we see the *English* incline
 ‘ to a Peace, to hold it fast.’

On the 19th, all the People gathered together, Men, Women, and Children; and King *Beaver* desired me to read to them the News I had brought, and told me that all the able Men should go with me to the other Town. I complied with his Desire, and they appeared very much pleased at every Thing, till I came to that Part respecting the Prisoners. This they disliked, for they say it appears very odd and unreasonable, that we should demand Prisoners before there is an established Peace; such an unreasonable Demand makes us appear as if we wanted Brains.

20th. We set out from *Kushkushkee* for *Sankonk*; my Company consisted of 25 Horsemen and 15 Foot. We arrived at *Sankonk* in the Afternoon. The People of the Town were much disturbed at my coming, and received me in a very rough Manner. They surrounded me with drawn Knives in their Hands, in such a Manner that I could hardly get along; running up against me with their Breasts open, as if they wanted some Pretence to kill me. I saw by their Countenances they sought my Death. Their Faces were quite distorted with Rage, and they went so far as to say, I should not live long; but some *Indians* with whom I was formerly acquainted, coming up and saluting me in a friendly Manner, their Behaviour to me was quickly changed.

On the 21st, They sent Messengers to Fort *Duquesne* to let them know I was there, and invited them to their Fire. In the Afternoon I read to them all my Message, the *French* Captain being present, for he still continued with us: Upon which they were more kind to me. In the Evening 15 more arrived
 here

here from *Kushkushkee*. The Men here now about 120.

22d. Arrived about 20 *Shawaneſe* and *Mingos*. I read to them the Meſſage, at which they ſeemed well pleaſed. Then the two Kings came to me and ſpoke in the following Manner;

‘ Brother, We the *Shawaneſe* and *Mingos* have heard
 ‘ your Meſſage; the Meſſenger we ſent to Fort *Duqueſne*
 ‘ is returned, and tells us, there are eight different
 ‘ Nations there who want to hear your Meſſage; we
 ‘ will conduct you there and let both the *Indians* and
 ‘ *French* hear what our Brothers the *English* have to
 ‘ ſay.’ I proteſted againſt going to Fort *Duqueſne*, but
 all in vain; for they inſiſted on my going, and ſaid
 that I need not fear the *French*, for they would carry
 me in their Boſoms, i. e. engage for my Safety.

23d. We ſet off for Fort *Duqueſne* and went no
 farther this Night than *Logs Town*, where I met with
 four *Shawaneſe*, who lived in *Wyoming* when I did.
 They received me very kindly, and called the Priſon-
 ers to ſhake Hands with me, as their Countryman,
 and gave me Leave to go into every Houſe to ſee
 them, which was done in no Town beſides.

24th. They called to me, and deſired that I would
 write to the General for them. The Jealouſy natural
 to the *Indians* is not to be deſcribed; for tho’ they
 wanted me to write for them, they were afraid I would,
 at the ſame time, give other Information, and this per-
 plexed them. We continued our Journey to the Fort,
 and arrived in Sight on this Side the River in the Af-
 ternoon, and all the *Indian* Chiefs immediately came
 over; they called me into the Middle, and King *Bea-*
ver preſented me to them, and ſaid, ‘ Here is our
 ‘ *English* Brother, who has brought great News.’ Two
 of them roſe up and ſignified they were glad to ſee
 me. But an old deaf *Onondago Indian* roſe up and
 ſignified his Diſpleaſure. This *Indian* is much diſ-
 liked by the others; he had heard nothing yet that had
 paſſed; he has lived here a great while, and conſtantly
 lives

lives in the Fort, and is mightily attached to the *French*; he spoke as follows to the *Delawares*. ‘I don’t know this *Swannock*||; it may be that you know him. *I*, the *Shawanese*, and our Father*, don’t know him. I stand here (stamping his Foot) as a Man on his own Ground†; therefore I, the *Shawanese* and my Father, don’t like that a *Swannock* come on our Ground.’——Then there was Silence awhile till the Pipe went round‡; after that was over, one of the *Delawares* rose up, and spoke in Opposition to him that spoke last, and delivered himself as follows.

‘That Man speaks not as a Man; he endeavours to frighten us, by saying this is his Ground; he dreams; he and his Father have certainly drank too much Liquor; they are drunk, pray let them go to sleep till they be sober. You don’t know what your own Nation does at Home; how much they have to say to the *Swannocks*. You are quite rotten. You stink§. You do nothing but smoke your Pipe here. Go to sleep with your Father, and when you are sober we will speak to you.’

After this, the *French* demanded me of the *Indians*. They said it was a Custom among the white People when a Messenger came, even if it was the Governor, to blind his Eyes and lead him into the Fort, to a Prison or private Room. They, with some of the *Indians*, insisted very much on my being sent into the Fort, but to no Purpose; for the other *Indians* said to the *French*, ‘It may be a Rule among you, but we have brought him here, that all the *Indians* might see him, and hear what our Brothers the *English* have to say; and

|| *i. e.* This *Englishman*.

* By *Father*, they express the *French*.

† By *I*, he here means, *I* the Six Nations, of which the *Onondagoes* are one of the greatest. This was therefore a Claim of the *Ohio* Lands, as belonging to the Six Nations, exclusive of the *Delawares*, whom they formerly called *Women*.

‡ The *Indians* smoke in their Councils.

§ That is, The Sentiments you express, are offensive to the Company.

‘we will not suffer him to be blinded and carried into ‘the Fort.’ The *French* still insisted on my being delivered to them; but the *Indians* desired them, to let them hear no more about it; but to send them 100 Loaves of Bread, for they were hungry.

25th. This Morning early they sent us over a large Bullock, and all the Indian Chiefs came over again, and counselled a great deal among themselves; then the *Delaware*, that handled the old deaf *Onondago Indian* so roughly Yesterday, address himself to him in this Manner; ‘I hope To-day you are sober. I am ‘certain you did not know what you said Yesterday. ‘You endeavoured to frighten us; but know, *we are* ‘*now Men*, and not so easily frightened. You said ‘something Yesterday of the *Shawanese*; see here what ‘they have sent you’ (*presenting him with a large Roll of Tobacco.*)

Then the old deaf *Indian* rose up and acknowledged he had been in the Wrong; said that he had now *cleaned himself*,* and hoped they would forgive him.

Then the *Delaware Indian* delivered the Message that was sent by the *Shawanese*, which was, ‘That they ‘hoped the *Delawares*, &c. would be strong†, in what ‘they were undertaking; that they were extremely ‘proud to hear such good News from their Brothers ‘the *English*; that whatever Contracts they made with ‘the *English*, the *Shawanese* would agree to; that they ‘were their Brothers, and that they loved them.’

The *French* whispered to the *Indians*, as I imagined, to insist on my delivering what I had to say, on the other Side of the Water; which they did to no Purpose, for my Company still insisted on a Hearing on this Side of the Water. The *Indians* crossed the River to council with their *Fathers*‡. My Company desired to know whether they would hear me or no. This Afternoon 300 *Canadians* arrived at the Fort,

* That is, he had changed his offensive Sentiments.

† That is, that they would act vigorously.

‡ The *French* at the Fort.

and reported that 600 more were soon to follow them, and 40 Battoes laden with Ammunition. Some of my Party desired me not to stir from the Fire, for that the *French* had offered a great Reward for my Scalp, and that there were several Parties out on that Purpose. Accordingly I stuck constantly as close to the Fire as if I had been chained there.

26th. The Indians with a great many of the *French* Officers came over to hear what I had to say. The Officers brought with them a Table, Pens, Ink and Paper. I spoke in the Middle of them with a free Conscience, and perceived by the Look of the *French* they were not pleased with what I said; the Particulars of which were as follows;—I spoke in the Name of the Government and People of *Pensilvania*.

‘ Brethren at *Allegheny*, We have a long Time de-
 ‘ fired to see and hear from you; you know the Road
 ‘ was quite stopt, and we did not know how to come
 ‘ through. We have sent many Messengers to you,
 ‘ but we did not hear of you, now we are very glad
 ‘ we have found an Opening to come and see you,
 ‘ and to speak with you, and to hear your true Mind
 ‘ and Resolution. We salute you very heartily.

A String, No. I.

‘ Brethren at *Allegheny*; take Notice of what I say.
 ‘ You know that the bad Spirit has brought something
 ‘ between us, that has kept us at a Distance one from
 ‘ another; I now by this Belt take every Thing out
 ‘ of the Way that the bad Spirit has brought between
 ‘ us, and all the Jealousy and Fearfulness we had of
 ‘ one another, and whatever else the bad Spirit might
 ‘ have poisoned your Heart and Mind with. I now,
 ‘ by this Belt, clear every Thing away that the bad
 ‘ Spirit might have corrupted and poisoned the Heart
 ‘ and Mind with, that nothing of it may be left. More-
 ‘ over, let us look up to God, and beg for his Assist-
 ‘ ance, that he may put into our Hearts what pleases
 T him,

‘ him, and join us close in that brotherly Love and
 ‘ Friendship, which our Grandfathers had. We af-
 ‘ fure you of our Love towards you.

A Belt of 11 Rows.

‘ Brothers at *Allegheny*, hearken to what I say:

‘ We began to hear of you from *Wellemeghibink*, who
 ‘ returned from *Allegheny*. We heard you had had but
 ‘ a flight confused Account of us, and did not know of
 ‘ the Peace we made twelve Months past in *Easton*. It
 ‘ was then agreed, that the large Belt of Peace should
 ‘ be sent to you at *Allegheny*. As these our two old
 ‘ Friends from *Allegheny*, who are well known to many
 ‘ here, found an Opening to come to our Council Fire,
 ‘ to see with their own Eyes, to sit with us Face to
 ‘ Face, to hear with their own Ears every Thing that
 ‘ has been transacted between us; it gives me and all
 ‘ the People of the Province great Pleasure to see
 ‘ them among us. And I assure all my Brethren at
 ‘ *Allegheny*, that nothing would please me and all the
 ‘ People of the Province better, than to see our
 ‘ Countrymen the *Delawares* well settled among us.

A Belt.

‘ Hearken, my Brethren at *Allegheny*. When we
 ‘ began to make Peace with the *Delawares* Twelve
 ‘ Months ago in Behalf of Ten other Nations, we
 ‘ opened the Road, and cleared the Bushes from the
 ‘ Blood, and gathered all the Bones on both Sides to-
 ‘ gether; and when we had brought them together in
 ‘ one Heap, we could find no Place to bury them:
 ‘ We would not bury them as our Grandfathers did.
 ‘ They buried them under Ground where they may be
 ‘ found again. We prayed to God that he would have
 ‘ Mercy on us, and take all these Bones away from us,
 ‘ and hide them that they might never be found any
 ‘ more; and take from both Sides all the Remembrance
 ‘ of them out of our Heart and Mind. And we have a
 ‘ firm Confidence that God will be pleased to take all
 ‘ the

‘ the Bones and hide them from us, that they may never
 ‘ be remembered by us while we live, nor our Chil-
 ‘ dren, nor Grand-Children hereafter. The Hatchet
 ‘ was buried on both Sides, and large Belts of Peace
 ‘ exchanged. Since we have cleared every Thing from
 ‘ the Heart, and taken every Thing out of the Way;
 ‘ now my Brethren at *Allegheny*, every one that hears
 ‘ me, if you will join with us in that brotherly Love
 ‘ and Friendship, which our Grandfathers had, we assure
 ‘ you, that all past Offences shall be forgotten, and
 ‘ never more talked of by us, our Children and Grand
 ‘ Children hereafter. This Belt assures you of our Sin-
 ‘ cerity, and honest and upright Heart towards you.

A Belt of 7 Rows.

‘ Hearken, Brethren at *Allegheny*. I have told you
 ‘ that we really made Peace with Part of your Nation
 ‘ Twelve Months past; I now by this Belt open the
 ‘ Road from *Allegheny* to our Council-Fire, where
 ‘ your Grandfathers kept good Councils with us,
 ‘ that all may pass without Molestation or Danger.
 ‘ You must be sensible, that unless a Road be kept
 ‘ open, People at Variance can never come together
 ‘ to make up their Differences. Messengers are free
 ‘ in all Nations throughout the World, by a particu-
 ‘ lar Token. Now Brethren at *Allegheny*, I desire
 ‘ you will join with me in keeping the Road open,
 ‘ and let us know in what Manner we may come free
 ‘ to you, and what the Token shall be. I join both
 ‘ my Hands to yours and will do all in my Power to
 ‘ keep the Road open.

A Belt of 7 Rows.

‘ Now, Brethren at *Allegheny*, hear what I say.
 ‘ Every one that lays hold of this Belt of Peace, I
 ‘ proclaim Peace to them from the *English* Nation,
 ‘ and let you know that the great King of *England*
 ‘ does not incline to have War with the *Indians*, but
 ‘ he wants to live in Peace and Love with them, if
 they

‘ they will lay down the Hatchet and leave off War
 ‘ against him.

‘ We love you farther; we let you know that the
 ‘ great King of *England* has sent a great Number of
 ‘ Warriors into this Country, not to go to war against
 ‘ the *Indians* in their Towns, no not at all;—These
 ‘ Warriors are going against the *French*, they are on the
 ‘ March to the *Ohio* to revenge the Blood they have
 ‘ shed. And by this Belt I take you by the Hand, and
 ‘ lead you at a Distance from the *French*, for your own
 ‘ Safety, that your Legs may not be stained with Blood.
 ‘ Come away on this Side of the Mountain, where we
 ‘ may oftner converse together, and where your own
 ‘ Flesh and Blood lives. We look upon you as our
 ‘ Countrymen that sprung out of the same Ground with
 ‘ us; we think therefore that it is our Duty to take
 ‘ Care of you, and we in brotherly Love advise you to
 ‘ come away with your whole Nation, and as many of
 ‘ your Friends as you can get to follow you. We don’t
 ‘ come to hurt you, we love you, therefore we do not
 ‘ call you to War, that you may be slain,—What Bene-
 ‘ fit will it be to you to go to war with your own Flesh
 ‘ and Blood? We wish you may live without Fear or
 ‘ Danger with your Women and Children.

The large Peace Belt.

‘ Brethren, I have almost finished what I had to
 ‘ say, and hope it will be to your Satisfaction; my
 ‘ Wish is that we may join close together in that old
 ‘ brotherly Love and Friendship which our Grand-
 ‘ fathers had, so that all the Nations may hear and
 ‘ see us and have the Benefit of it; and if you have
 ‘ any Uneasiness or Complaint in your Heart and
 ‘ Mind, do not keep it to yourself. We have opened
 ‘ the Road to the Council-Fire, therefore my Brethren
 ‘ come and acquaint the Governor of it; you will be
 ‘ readily heard and full Justice done you.

A Belt.

‘ Bre-

‘ Brethren,

‘ One Thing I must bring to your Remembrance.
 ‘ You know if any Body loses a little Child, or some
 ‘ Body takes it from him, he cannot be easy, he will
 ‘ think on his Child by Day and Night: Since our
 ‘ Flesh and Blood is in Captivity in the *Indian* Towns,
 ‘ we desire you will rejoice the Country’s Heart and
 ‘ bring them to me, I shall stretch out my Arms to
 ‘ receive you kindly.

A String.

After I had done, I left my Belts and Strings still before them. The *Delawares* took them all up, and laid them before the *Mingoes**, upon which they rose up and spoke as follows.

‘ *Chau*, What I have heard pleases me well, I don’t
 ‘ know why I go to war against the *English*. *Noques*,
 ‘ What do you think? You must be strong. I did
 ‘ not begin the War, therefore I have little to say, but
 ‘ whatever you agree to I will do the same.’ Then he
 addressed himself to the *Shawanese*, and said, ‘ You
 ‘ brought the Hatchet to us from the *French*, and
 ‘ persuaded us to strike our Brothers the *English*; you
 ‘ may consider (laying the Belts, &c. before them,)
 ‘ wherefore you have done this.’

The *Shawanese* acknowledged they received the Hatchet from the *French*, who persuaded them to strike the *English*; that they would now send the Belts to all the *Indians*, and in twelve Days would meet again.

Present at this Council, Three hundred *French* and *Indians*. They all took Leave and went over again to the Fort, but my Companions who were about Seventy in Number.

Shamokin Daniel who came with me, went over to the Fort by himself (which my Companions disapproved of) and counselled with the Governor; who presented him with a laced Coat and Hat, a Blanket, Shirts,

* The Six Nation Indians.

Ribbons, a new Gun, Powder, Lead, &c. When he returned he was quite changed, and said, ‘See here you Fools, what the *French* have given me. I was in *Philadelphia* and never received a Farthing; and (directing himself to me) said, the *English* are Fools and so are ‘you.’ In short, he behaved in a very proud, saucy and imperious Manner. He further said, the *English* never give the *Indians* any Powder, and that the *French* would have given him a Horse-Load if he would have taken it; ‘See that young Man there, he was in *Philadelphia* and never got any Thing; I will take him over ‘to the *French* and get some Cloathing for him.’

Three *Indians* informed me, that as soon as the *French* got over, they called a Council with their own *Indians*, among whom there happened accidentally to be a *Delaware* Captain, who was privately invited by one of his Acquaintances to hear what the *French* had to say; and when they were assembled, the *French* spoke as follows:

‘My Children, now we are alone, hearken to what I have to say. I perceive the *Delawares* are wavering; they incline to the *English*, and will be faithful to us no longer. Now all their Chiefs are here, and but a handful, let us cut them off, and then we shall be troubled with them no longer.’ Then the *Tawaas* answered, No, ‘We can’t do this Thing; for, though there is but a Handful here, the *Delawares* are a strong People, and are spread to a great Distance, and whatever they do agree to, must be.’

This Afternoon, in Council, on the other Side of the River, the *French* insisted that I must be delivered up to them, and that it was not lawful for me to go away; which occasioned a Quarrel between them and the *Indians*, who immediately came away and crossed the River to me; and some of them let me know, that *Daniel* had received a String from the *French* to leave me there; but ’twas to no Purpose, for they would not give their Consent; and then agreed, that I should set off before Day the next Morning.

27th. Accordingly I fet out before day, with fix *Indians*, and took another Road that we might not be feen; the main Body told me they would ftay behind, to know whether the *French* would make an Attempt to take me by Force; that if they did, they the *Indians* would endeavour to prevent their croffing the River, and coming fecretly upon me. Juft as I fet off the *French* fired all their great Guns, it being Sunday (I counted nineteen) and concluded they did the fame every Sabbath. We paffed thro' three *Shawaneſe* Towns, the *Indians* appeared very proud to fee me return, and we arrived about Night at *Sawcunk*, where they were likewiſe very glad to fee me return. Here I met with the two Captains, who treated me ſo uncivilly before; they now received me very kindly and accepted of my Hand and apologized for their former rude Behaviour. Their Names are *Kuckquetackton* and *Killbuck*. They ſaid,

‘ Brother, we in behalf of the People of *Sawcunk* ‘ deſire that you will hold faſt what you have begun, ‘ and be ſtrong*. We are but little and poor, and ‘ therefore cannot do much. You are rich, and muſt ‘ go on and be ſtrong. We have done all in our ‘ Power towards bringing about a Peace: We have ‘ had a great Quarrel about you with the *French*, but ‘ we don’t mind them. Do you make haſte, and be ‘ ſtrong, and let us ſee you again.’ The ſaid *Killbuck* is a great Captain and Conjuror; he deſired me to mention him to the Governor; and aſk him if he would be pleaſed to ſend him a good Saddle by the next Meſſenger; and that he would do all in his Power for the Service of the *English*.

28th. We fet out from *Sawcunk*, in Company with twenty, for *Kuſhcushkee*; on the Road *Shingas* addreſſed himſelf to me, and aſked, if I did not think, that if he came to the *English* they would hang him, as they

* That is, go on ſteadily with this good Work of eſtabliſhing a Peace.

had offered a great Reward for his Head. He spoke in a very soft and easy Manner. I told him, that was a great while ago, 'twas all forgotten and wiped clean away; that the *English* would receive him very kindly.—Then *Daniel* interrupted me, and said to *Skingas*, 'Don't believe him, he tells nothing but idle 'lying Stories. Wherefore did the *English* hire 1200 'Indians* to kill us.' I protested it was false; he said, 'G-d d—n you† for a Fool; did not you see the 'Woman lying in the Road that was killed by the 'Indians that the *English* hired.' I said, 'Brother, do 'consider how many thousand *Indians* the *French* have 'hired to kill the *English*, and how many they have 'killed along our Frontiers.' Then *Daniel* said, 'D——n you, why don't you and the *French* fight 'on the Sea? You come here only to cheat the poor 'Indians, and take their Land from them.'" Then *Skingas* told him to be still, for he did not know what he said. We arrived at *Kushcushkee* before Night, and I informed *Pisquetumen* of *Daniel's* Behaviour, at which he appeared sorry.

29th. I dined with *Skingas*; he told me, tho' the *English* had set a great Price on his Head, he had never thought to revenge himself, but was always very kind to any Prisoners that were brought in; and that he assured the Governor, he would do all in his Power to bring about an establish'd Peace, and wished he could be certain of the *English* being in earnest.

Then seven Chiefs present said, when the Governor sends the next Messenger, let him send two or three white Men at least to confirm the Thing, and not send such a Man as *Daniel*; they did not understand him, he always speaks, said they, as if he was drunk; and if a great many of them had not known me, they should not know what to think; for every Thing I

* The *Cherokees*, meaning.

† Some of the first *English* Speech that the *Indians* learn from the Traders in Swearing.

said,

said, he contradicted. I assured them I would faithfully inform the Governor of what they said, and they should see, as Messengers, otherguise *Indians* than *Daniel* for the time to come; and I farther informed them, that he was not sent by the Governor, but came of his own Accord, and I would endeavour to prevent his coming again.—*Daniel* demanded of me his Pay, and I gave him three Dollars, and he took as much Wampum from me as he pleased, and would not suffer me to count it. I imagined there was about two thousand.

About Night, nine *Tawaas* past by here in their Way to the *French* Fort.

30th and 31st. The *Indians* feasted greatly, during which time I several Times begged of them to consider and dispatch me.

September 1st. *Shingas*, *King-Beaver*, *Delaware-George*, and *Pisquetumen* with several other Captains, said to me, ‘Brother, we have thought a great deal
 ‘since God has brought you to us, and this is a Matter
 ‘of great Consequence which we can’t readily answer;
 ‘we think on it, and will answer you as soon as we can.
 ‘Our Feast hinders us; all our young Men, Women
 ‘and Children are glad to see you: before you came
 ‘they all agreed together to go and join the *French*,
 ‘but since they have seen you they all draw back;’ tho
 ‘we have great Reason to believe, you intend to drive
 ‘us away and settle the Country, or else why do you
 ‘come to fight in the Land that God has given us.’

I said, we did not intend to take the Land from them, but only to drive the *French* away; they said they knew better, for that they were informed so by one of our greatest Traders, and some Justices of the Peace had told them the same, and the *French*, said they, tell us much the same Thing, ‘That the *English*
 ‘intend to destroy us and take our Lands from us,
 ‘but that they are come only to defend us and our
 ‘Lands; but the Land is ours, and not theirs, there-
 ‘fore we say, if you will be at Peace with us, we will
 ‘send

‘ send the *French* home. ’Tis you that have begun
 ‘ the War, and ’tis necessary that you hold fast and
 ‘ be not discouraged in the Work of Peace. We love
 ‘ you more than you love us; for when we take any
 ‘ Prisoners from you, we treat them as our own Chil-
 ‘ dren. We are poor, and yet we cloath them as well
 ‘ as we can, tho’ you see our own Children are as
 ‘ naked as at the first. By this you may see that our
 ‘ Hearts are better than yours. ’Tis plain that you
 ‘ white People are the Cause of this War; why don’t
 ‘ you and the *French* fight in the old Country, and
 ‘ on the Sea? Why do you come to fight on our
 ‘ Land? This makes every Body believe you want
 ‘ to take the Land from us, by force, and settle it*.’
 I told them, ‘ Brothers, as for my part I have not
 ‘ one Foot of Land, nor do I desire to have any;
 ‘ and if I had any Land, I had rather give it to you,
 ‘ than take any from you. Yes, Brother, if I dye,
 ‘ you will get a little more Land from me, for I shall
 ‘ then no longer walk on that Ground which God
 ‘ has made. We told you that you should keep
 ‘ nothing in your Heart, but bring it before the
 ‘ Council Fire, and before the Governor and his
 ‘ Council, they will readily hear you; and I promise
 ‘ you, what they answer they will stand to. I further
 ‘ read to you what Agreements they made about *Wy-*
 ‘ *oming*†, and they stand to them.’

* The *Indians* having plenty of Land, are no Niggards of it. They sometimes give large Tracts to their Friends freely, and when they sell it, they make most generous Bargains. But some *fraudulent Purchases*, in which they were grossly imposed on, and some *violent Intrusions*, imprudently and wickedly made without Purchase, have rendered them jealous that we intend finally to take all from them by Force. We should endeavour to recover our Credit with them by fair Purchases and honest Payments; and then there is no doubt but they will readily sell us at reasonable Rates as much from Time to Time as we can possibly have occasion for.

† The Agreement made with *Teedyuscung* that he should enjoy the *Wyoming* Lands, and have Houses built there for him and his People.

They

They said, ‘Brother, your Heart is good, you
 ‘speak always sincerely, but we know there are always
 ‘a great Number of People that want to get rich,
 ‘they never have enough: Look, we don’t want to
 ‘be rich and take away that which others have. God
 ‘has given you the tame Creatures, we don’t want to
 ‘take them from you. God has given to us the Deer,
 ‘and other wild Creatures, which we must feed on;
 ‘and we rejoice in that which springs out of the
 ‘Ground, and thank God for it. Look now my
 ‘Brother, the white People think we have no Brains
 ‘in our Heads, but that they are great and big, and
 ‘that makes them make War with us: We are but a
 ‘little handful to what you are; but remember, when
 ‘you look for a wild Turkey you can’t always find
 ‘it, ’tis so little it hides itself under the Bushes: And
 ‘when you hunt for a Rattle-Snake, you cannot find
 ‘it; and perhaps it will bite you before you see it.
 ‘However, since you are so great and big, and we so
 ‘little, do you use your Greatness and Strength in
 ‘compleating this Work of Peace. This is the first
 ‘Time that we saw or heard of you since the War
 ‘begun, and we have great Reason to think about it,
 ‘since such a great Body* of you comes in our Lands.
 ‘It is told us, that you and the *French* contrived the
 ‘War to waste the *Indians* between you, and that you
 ‘and the *French* intended to divide the Land between
 ‘you: This was told us by the chief of the *Indian*
 ‘Traders; and they said further, Brothers, this is the
 ‘last Time we shall come among you, for the *French*
 ‘and *English* intend to kill all the *Indians*, and then
 ‘divide the Lands amongst themselves.’ Then they
 addressed themselves to me, and said, ‘Brother, I sup-
 ‘pose you know something about it, or has the Gover-
 ‘nor stopped your Mouth that you cannot tell us.’

Then I said, ‘Brothers, I am very sorry to see you
 ‘so jealous. I am your own Flesh and Blood, and

* The Army under General *Forbes*.

‘ sooner than I would tell you any Story, that would
 ‘ be of hurt to you or your Children, I would suffer
 ‘ Death; and if I did not know, that it was the De-
 ‘ sire of the Governor, that we should renew our old
 ‘ brotherly Love and Friendship that subsisted between
 ‘ our Grandfathers, I would not have undertaken this
 ‘ Journey. I do assure you of mine and the People’s
 ‘ honesty. If the *French* had not been here, the *En-*
 ‘ *glish* would not have come; and consider, Brothers,
 ‘ how many People have been killed, since the *French*
 ‘ have been here, and then consider, Brothers, whether
 ‘ in such a Case we can always sit still.’

They then said, ‘ ’Tis a thousand Pities we did
 ‘ not know this sooner; if we had, it would have
 ‘ been Peace long before now.’

Then I said, ‘ My Brothers, I know you have
 ‘ been wrongly persuaded by many wicked People;
 ‘ for you must know, there are a great many Papists
 ‘ in the Country in *French* Interest, who appear like
 ‘ Gentlemen, and have sent many runaway *Irish* Pa-
 ‘ pists Servants* among you, who have put bad No-
 ‘ tions into your Heads, and strengthened you against
 ‘ your Brothers the *English*.—Brothers, I beg that
 ‘ you would not believe every idle and false Story,
 ‘ that ill designing People may bring to you, against
 ‘ us your Brothers. Let us not hearken to what lying
 ‘ and foolish People say, but let us hear what wise and
 ‘ good People say, they will tell us what’s good for
 ‘ us and our Children.’

Mem. There are a great Number of *Irish* Traders
 now among the *Indians*, who have always endeavour-
 ed to spirit up the *Indians* against the *English*; which
 made some, that I was acquainted with from their

* The *Indian* Traders used to buy the transported *Irish* and
 other Convicts as Servants, to be employed in carrying up the
 Goods among the *Indians*: Many of those ran away from their
 Masters and joined the *Indians*. The ill Behaviour of these People
 has always hurt the Character of the *English* among the *Indians*.

Infancy, desire the Chiefs to enquire of me, for that they were certain I would speak the Truth.

Pisquetumen now told me, we could not go to the General, that it was very dangerous, the *French* having sent out several Scouts to wait for me on the Road.—And farther, *Pisquetumen* told me, 'twas a Pity the Governor had no *Ear** to bring him in Intelligence; that the *French* had three Ears, whom they rewarded with great Presents; and signified, that he and *Shingas* would be Ears at the Service of his Honour if he pleased.——

2d. I bad *Shingas* to make haste and dispatch me, and once more desired to know of them, if it was possible for them to guide me to the General. Of all which they told me they would consider; and *Shingas* gave me his Hand and said, 'Brother, the 'next Time you come I will return with you to ' *Philadelphia*, and will do all in my Power to prevent 'any Body's coming to hurt the *English* more.'——

3d. To Day I found myself unwell, and made a little Tea, which refreshed me. Had many very pretty Discourses with *George*. In the Afternoon they called a Council together and gave me the following Answer in Council; the Speaker addressing the Governor and People of *Pennsylvania*:

'Brethren, it is a great many Days since we have 'seen and heard you†. I now speak to you in Behalf 'of all the Nations that have heard you heretofore. 'Brethren, it is the first Message which we have seen 'or heard from you. Brethren, you have talked of

* No Spy among his Enemies.

† That is, Since we had a friendly Intercourse with each other. The frequent Repetition of the Word *Brethren*, is the Effect of their Rules of Politeness, which enjoin in all Conversations a constant Remembrance of the Relation subsisting between the Parties, especially where that Relation implies any Affection or Respect. It is like the perpetual Repetitions among us of *Sir*, or *Madam*, or *your Lordship*. In the same Manner the *Indians* at every Sentence repeat, *My Father, my Uncle, my Cousin, my Brother, my Friend, &c.*

‘ that Peace and Friendship which we had formerly
 ‘ with you. Brethren, we tell you to be strong, and
 ‘ always remember that Friendship which we had for-
 ‘ merly. Brethren, we desire you would be strong,
 ‘ and let us once more hear of our good Friendship
 ‘ and Peace we had formerly. Brethren, we desire
 ‘ that you make haste and let us soon hear of you
 ‘ again; for as yet we have not heard you rightly.

Gives a String.

‘ Brethren, hear what I have to say: Look,
 ‘ Brethren, we who have now seen and heard you,
 ‘ we who are present are Part of all the several Na-
 ‘ tions that heard you some Days ago; we see that
 ‘ you are sorry we have not that Friendship we for-
 ‘ merly had.—

‘ Look, Brethren, we at *Allegheny* are likewise sorry
 ‘ we have not that Friendship with you we formerly
 ‘ had. Brethren, we long for that Peace and Friend-
 ‘ ship we had formerly. Brethren, it is good that
 ‘ you desire that Friendship that was formerly among
 ‘ our Fathers and Grandfathers. Brethren, we will
 ‘ tell you, you must not let that Friendship be quite
 ‘ lost which was formerly between us. Now, Bre-
 ‘ thren, it is three Years since we dropt that Peace
 ‘ and Friendship which we formerly had with you.
 ‘ Brethren, it was dropt, and lay buried in the
 ‘ Ground where you and I stand, in the Middle be-
 ‘ tween us both. Brethren, I see you have digged
 ‘ up and revived that Friendship which was buried
 ‘ in the Ground; and now you have it, hold it fast.
 ‘ Do be strong, Brethren, and exert yourselves, that
 ‘ that Friendship may be well established and finished
 ‘ between us. Brethren, if you will be strong, it is
 ‘ in your Power to finish that Peace and Friendship
 ‘ well. Therefore, Brethren, we desire you to be
 ‘ strong and establish it, and make known to all the
 ‘ *English* this Peace and Friendship, that it may em-
 ‘ brace all and cover all. As you are of one Nation
 ‘ and Colour in all the *English* Governments, so let
 ‘ the

‘ the Peace be the same with all. Brethren, when
 ‘ you have finished this Peace which you have begun;
 ‘ when it is known every where amongst your Bre-
 ‘ thren, and you have everywhere agreed together
 ‘ on this Peace and Friendship, then you will be
 ‘ pleased to send the great Peace-Belt to us at the
 ‘ *Allegheny*.——

‘ Brethren, when you have settled this Peace and
 ‘ Friendship, and finished it well, and you send the
 ‘ great Peace-Belt to me, I will send it to all the
 ‘ Nations of my Colour, they will all join to it and
 ‘ we all will hold it fast.——

‘ Brethren, when all the Nations join to this
 ‘ Friendship, then the Day will begin to shine clear
 ‘ over us. When we hear once more of you, and
 ‘ we join together, then the Day will be still, and no
 ‘ Wind or Storm will come over us to disturb us.
 ‘ Now, Brethren, you know our Hearts and what
 ‘ we have to say; be strong; if you do what we
 ‘ have now told you, in this Peace all the Nations
 ‘ agree to join. Now, Brethren, let the King of
 ‘ *England* know what our Mind is as soon as possibly
 ‘ you can*.”

Gives a Belt of eight Rows.

I received the above Speech and Belt from the
 underwritten, who are all Captains and Counsel-
 lers.——

Beaver, King.
Delaware George,
Pisquetomen,
Tajucamin,
Awakanomin,
Cushawmekwy,
Keybeynapalin,

Captain Peter,
Macomal,
Popauce,
Washaocautaut,
Cochquacaukehlton,
John Hickomen, and
Kill Buck.

Delaware

* In this Speech the *Indians* carefully guard the Honour of
 their Nation, by frequently intimating, that the Peace is *sought by*
the English. ‘ You have talked of Peace: You are sorry for the War:
 ‘ You have digged up the Peace that was buried,’ &c. Then they
 declare

Delaware George spoke as follows:

‘ Look, Brothers, we are here of three different Nations. I am of the *Unami* Nation: I have heard all the Speeches that you have made to us with the many other Nations.

‘ Brothers, you did let us know, that every one that takes hold of this Peace-Belt, you would take them by the Hand and lead them to the Council Fire where our Grandfathers kept good Councils. So soon as I heard this, I took hold of it.

‘ Brother, I now let you know that my Heart never was parted from you. I am sorry that I should make Friendship with the *French* against the *English*. I now assure you my Heart sticks close to the *English* Interest. One of our great Captains, when he heard it, he immediately took hold of it as well as myself. Now, my Brother, I let you know that you shall soon see me by your Council Fire, and then I shall hear from you myself the plain Truth in every respect.

‘ I love that which is good, like as our Grandfathers did: They chose to speak the Sentiments of their Mind: All the *five Nations* know me, and know that I always spoke Truth; and so you shall find, when I come to your Council Fire.’

Gives a String.

The above *Delaware George* had in Company with him

Cushawmekwy,
Kebkebnopatin,
Captain *Peter,*

John Peter,
Stinfeor.

4th. Present *Shingas*, King *Beaver*, *Pisquetumen*, and several others. I asked what they meant by saying *they had not rightly heard me yet*. They said, ‘ Brother,

declare their Readiness to grant Peace, if the *English* agree to its being general for all the Colonies. The *Indian* Word, that is translated *be strong*, so often repeated, is an Expression they use to spirit up Persons who have undertaken some difficult Task, as to lift or move a great Weight, or execute a difficult Enterprize; nearly equivalent to our Word *Courage! Courage!*

‘ you

‘ you very well know that you have collected all your
 ‘ young Men about the Country, which makes a large
 ‘ Body*; and now they are standing *before our Doors*†,
 ‘ you come with good News and fine Speeches. Bro-
 ‘ ther, this is what makes us jealous, and we don’t know
 ‘ what to think of it: If you had brought the News of
 ‘ Peace before your Army had begun to march, it
 ‘ would have caused a great deal more good. We don’t
 ‘ so readily believe you, because a great many great
 ‘ Men and Traders have told us, long before the War,
 ‘ that you and the *French* intended to join and cut all
 ‘ the *Indians* off. These were People of your own
 ‘ Colour and your own Country Men; and some told
 ‘ us to join the *French*, for that they would be our
 ‘ Fathers: Besides, many Runaways have told us the
 ‘ same Story; and some we took Prisoners told us how
 ‘ you would use us if you caught us; Therefore, Bro-
 ‘ ther, I say, we can’t conclude at this Time, but must
 ‘ see and hear you once more.’ And, further, they said,
 ‘ Now, Brother, you are here with us, you are our
 ‘ Flesh and Blood, speak from the Bottom of your
 ‘ Heart, will not the *French* and *English* join together
 ‘ to cut off the *Indians*; speak, Brother, from your
 ‘ Heart and tell us the Truth, and let us know who
 ‘ were the Beginners of the War.’

Then I delivered myself thus:

‘ Brothers, I love you from the bottom of my Heart.
 ‘ I am extremely sorry to see the Jealousy so deeply
 ‘ rooted in your Hearts and Minds. I have told you
 ‘ the Truth; and yet, if I was to tell it you a hundred
 ‘ Times, it seems you would not rightly believe me.
 ‘ My *Indian* Brothers, I wish you would draw your
 ‘ Hearts to God, that He may convince you of the
 ‘ Truth.

‘ I do now declare before God, that the *English* never
 ‘ did, nor never will, join with the *French* to destroy
 ‘ you. As far as I know, the *French* are the Beginners

* Meaning General *Forbes*’s Army.

† *i e.* Just ready to enter our Country.

‘ of this War.—Brothers, about twelve Years ago,
 ‘ you may remember they had War with the *English*,
 ‘ and they both had agreed to Articles of Peace. The
 ‘ *English* gave up *Cape Breton* in *Acadia*, but the *French*
 ‘ never gave up the Part of that Country which they
 ‘ had agreed to give up, and in a very little Time made
 ‘ their Children strike the *English*. This was the first
 ‘ Cause of the War. Now, Brothers, if any Body strike
 ‘ you three Times, one after another, you sit still
 ‘ and consider: They strike you again; then, my Bro-
 ‘ thers, you say ’tis Time, and you will rise up to de-
 ‘ fend yourselves. Now, my Brothers, this is exactly
 ‘ the Case between the *French* and *English*. Consider
 ‘ farther, my Brothers, what a great Number of our
 ‘ poor back Inhabitants have been killed since the
 ‘ *French* came to the *Ohio*. The *French* are the Cause
 ‘ of their Death, and if they were not there, the *En-*
 ‘ *glish* would not trouble themselves to go there. They
 ‘ go no where to War but where the *French* are. Those
 ‘ wicked People that set you at Variance with the
 ‘ *English*, by telling you many wicked Stories, are
 ‘ Papists in the *French* Pay: Besides there are many
 ‘ among us in the *French* Service who appear like
 ‘ Gentlemen, and buy *Irish* Papist Servants and pro-
 ‘ mise them great Rewards to run away to you and
 ‘ strengthen you against the *English* by making them
 ‘ appear as black as Devils.’—

This Day arrived here two hundred *French* and *Indians* on their Way to *Fort Duquesne*. They staid all Night. In the Middle of the Night King *Beaver*’s Daughter died, on which a great many Guns were fired in the Town.

5th. It made a general Stop in my Journey. The *French* said to their Children, they should catch me privately or get my Scalp. The Commander wanted to examine me as he was going to *Fort Duquesne*. When they told me of it, I said, as he was going to *Fort Duquesne*, he might enquire about me there: I had nothing at all to say or do with the *French*: They
 would

would tell them every Particular they wanted to know in the Fort. They all came into the House where I was as if they would see a new Creature.

In the Afternoon there came six *Indians* and brought three *German* Prisoners, and two Scalps of the *Catabaws*.

As *Daniel* blamed the *English* that they never paid him for his Trouble, I asked him whether he was pleased with what I paid him. He said, 'No.' I said, 'Brother, you took as much as you pleased. I asked you whether you was satisfied; you said, Yes.' I told him I was ashamed to hear him blame the Country so. I told him, 'You shall have for this Journey whatever you desire, when I reach the Inhabitants.'—

6th. *Pisquetumen*, *Tom Hickman* and *Shingas* told me, 'Brother, it is good that you have stayed so long with us; we love to see you, and wish to see you here longer; but since you are so desirous to go, you may set off To-morrow: *Pisquetumen* has brought you here, and he may carry you Home again: You have seen us, and we have talked a great Deal together, which we have not done for a long Time before. Now, Brother, we love you, but can't help wondering why the *English* and *French* don't make it up with one another, and tell one another not to fight on our Land.'

I told them, 'Brother, if the *English* told the *French* so a thousand Times, they never would go away. Brother, you know so long as the World has stood there has not been such a War. You know when the *French* lived on the other Side, the War was there, and here we lived in Peace. Consider how many Thousand Men are killed and how many Houses are burned since the *French* lived here; if they had not been here it would not have been so; you know we don't blame you, we blame the *French*, they are the Cause of this War, therefore we don't come to hurt you, but to chastise the *French*.'

They

They told me that at the great Council held at *Onondago* among the *Five Nations* before the War began (*Conrad Weiser* was there and wrote every Thing down) it was said to the *Indians* at the *Ohio* that they should let the *French* alone there and leave it entirely to the *Five Nations*; the *Five Nations* would know what to do with them. Yet soon after two hundred *French* and *Indians* came and built *Fort Duquesne*.

King *Beaver* and *Shingas* spoke to *Pisquetumen*,
 ‘ Brother, you told us, that the Governor of *Phila-*
 ‘ *delphia* and *Teedyuscung* took this Man out of their
 ‘ Bosoms and put him into your Bosom, that you
 ‘ should bring him here; and you have brought him
 ‘ here to us, and we have seen and heard him, and
 ‘ now we give him into your Bosom to bring him to
 ‘ the same Place again before the Governor; but
 ‘ don’t let him quite loose; we shall rejoice when we
 ‘ shall see him here again.’—They desired me to
 ‘ speak to the Governor in their Behalf as follows:

‘ Brother, we beg you to remember our oldest Bro-
 ‘ ther *Pisquetumen*, and furnish him with good Cloaths
 ‘ and reward him well for his Trouble, for we all shall
 ‘ look upon him when he comes back.’—

7th. When we were ready to go they began to council which Course we should go to be safest, and then they hunted for the Horses, but could not find them, and so we lost that Day’s Journey. It is a troublesome Cross and heavy Yoke to draw this People: They can punish and squeeze a Body’s Heart to the utmost. I suspect the Reason they kept me here so long was by Instigation of the *French*. I remember somebody told me, the *French* told them to keep me twelve Days longer, for that they were afraid I should get back too soon and give Information to the General. My Heart has been very heavy here because they kept me for no Purpose. The Lord knows how they have been counselling about my Life, but they did not know who was my Protector and Deliverer: I believe my Lord
 has

has been too strong against them, my Enemies have done what lies in their Power.

8th. We prepared for our Journey in the Morning, and made ourselves ready. There came some together and examined me what I had wrote Yesterday. I told them I wondered what need they had to concern themselves about my Writing. They said, if they knowed I had wrote about the Prisoners, they would not let me go out of the Town. I told them what I writ was my Duty to do. ‘Brothers, I tell you I am ‘not afraid of you if there were a thousand more. I ‘have a good Conscience before God and Man. I ‘tell you I have wrote nothing about the Prisoners. ‘I tell you, Brothers, this is not good; there’s a bad ‘Spirit in your Heart which breeds that Jealousy, ‘and it will keep you ever in Fear that you will ‘never get Rest. I beg you would pray to God for ‘Grace to resist that wicked Spirit that breeds such ‘wicked Jealousies in you, which is the Reason you ‘have kept me here so long. How often have I ‘begged of you to dispatch me? I am ashamed to see ‘you so jealous: I am not in the least afraid of you. ‘Have not I brought Writings to you? and what, ‘do you think I must not carry some Home to the ‘Governor? or shall I shut my Mouth and say nothing? Look into your own Hearts and see if it ‘would be right or wrong, if any Body gives a Salutation to their Friends, and it is not returned in the ‘same Way. You told me many Times how kind ‘you were to the Prisoners, and now you are afraid ‘that any of them should speak to me.’—They told me they had Cause to be afraid, and then made a Draught and shewed me how they were surrounded with War. Then I told them, if they would be quiet and keep at a Distance, they need not fear. Then they went away, very much ashamed, one after another.—I told my Men that we should make haste and go; and accordingly we set off in the Afternoon from *Kushkushkee* and came ten Miles.

9th. We

9th. We took a little Foot-Path hardly to be seen. We lost it, and went through thick Bushes till we came to a Mire, which we did not see till we were in it, and *Tom Hickman* fell in and almost broke his Leg. We had hard Work before we could get the Horse out again. The Lord helped me that I got safe from my Horse. I and *Pisquetumen* had enough to do to come through. We passed many such Places: It rained all Day, and we got a double Portion of it because we received all that hung on the Bushes. We were as wet as if we were swimming all the Day, and at Night we laid ourselves down in a swampy Place to sleep, where we had nothing but the Heavens for our Covering.

10th. We had but little to live on. *Tom Hickman* shot a Deer on the Road. Every Thing here upon the *Ohio* is extremely dear, much more so than in *Pennsylvania*: I gave for one Dish of Corn four hundred and sixty *Wampum*. They told me that the Governor of Fort *Duquesne* kept a Store of his own, and that all the *Indians* must come and buy the Goods of him; and when they come to buy, he tells them, if they will go to War, they shall have as much Goods as they please.—Before I set off, I heard further, that a *French* Captain who goes to all the *Indian* Towns*, came to *Sacunck*, and said, ‘Children, will not you ‘come and help your Father against the *English*?’ They answered, ‘Why should we go to war against ‘our Brethren? they are now our Friends.’ ‘O! ‘Children,’ said he, ‘I hope you don’t own them for ‘Friends.’ ‘Yes,’ said they, ‘we do; we are their ‘Friends, and we hope they will remain ours.’ ‘O! ‘Children,’ said he, ‘you must not believe what you ‘have heard and what has been told you by that ‘Man.’ They said to him, ‘Yes, we do believe him ‘more than we do you: It was you that set us against ‘them; and we will by and by have Peace with them:’

* He was sent to collect the *Indians* together to attack General *Forbes*’s Army once more on their March.

And then he spoke not a Word more, but returned to the Fort.—So I hope some Good is done: Praised be the Name of the Lord.

11th. Being *Monday*, we went over to *Antigoc*: We went down a vast steep Hill, and our Horses slipped so that I expected every Moment they would fall Heels over Head.—We found fresh *Indian* Tracks on the other Side of the River. We crossed *Allegheny* River, and went through the Bushes upon a high Hill and slept upon the Side of the Mountain without Fire for fear of the Enemy. It was a cold Night, and I had but a thin Blanket to cover myself.

12th. We made a little Fire to warm ourselves in the Morning. Our Horses began to be weary with climbing up and down these steep Mountains. We came this Night to the Top of a Mountain, where we found a Log-house. Here we made a small Fire just to boil ourselves a little Victuals. The *Indians* were very much afraid, and lay with their Guns and Tom-hocks on all Night. They heard somebody run and whisper in the Night. I slept very sound, and in the Morning they asked me if I was not afraid the Enemy *Indians* would kill me. I said ‘No, I am not afraid of ‘the *Indians* nor the Devil himself: I fear my great ‘Creator God.’—‘Aye,’ they said, ‘you know you ‘will go to a good Place when you die; but we don’t ‘know that; that makes us afraid.’

13th. In the Afternoon we twice crossed *Chowatin*, and came to *Ponchestanning*, an old deserted *Indian* Town that lies on the same Creek. We went through a bad Swamp where was very thick sharp Thorns, so that they tore our Cloaths and Flesh, both Hands and Face, to a bad Degree. We had this kind of Road all the Day. In the Evening we made a Fire, and then they heard something rush in the Bushes as though they heard somebody walk. Then we went about three Gun-shot from our Fire, and could not find a Place to lye down for the innumerable Rocks; so that we were obliged to get small Stones to fill up
the

the hollow Places in the Rocks for our Bed; but it was very uneasy; almost Shirt and Skin grew together. They kept Watch one after another all Night.

14th. In the Morning I asked them what made them afraid. They said I knew nothing; the *French* had set a great Price on my Head, and they knew there was gone out a great Scout to lye in wait for me. We went over great Mountains and a very bad Road.

15th. We came to *Susquehannah* and crossed it six Times, and came to *Catamaweshink*, where had been an old *Indian* Town. In the Evening there came three *Indians* and said they saw two *Indian* Tracks which came to the Place where we slept, and turned back as if to give Information of us to a Party; so that we were sure they followed us.

16th and 17th. We crossed the Mountain.

18th. Came to the *Big Island*, where having nothing to live on, we were obliged to stay to hunt.

19th. We met with 20 Warriors who were returning from the Inhabitants, with five Prisoners and one Scalp; six of them were *Delawares*, the rest *Mingoes*. We sat down all in one Ring together. I informed them where I had been and what was done; they asked me to go back a little, and so I did, and slept all Night with them. I informed them of the Particulars of the Peace proposed; they said, if they had known so much before, they would not have gone to War.—‘Be strong; if you make a good Peace, then ‘we will bring all the Prisoners back again.’ They killed two Deer and gave me one.

20th. We took Leave of each other and went on our Journey, and arrived the 22d at Fort *Augusta* in the Afternoon, very weary and hungry, but greatly rejoiced of our return from this tedious Journey.

There is not a prouder, or more high-minded People in themselves than the *Indians*. They think themselves the wisest and prudentest Men in the World, and look upon all the Rest of Mankind as
Fools

Fools if they do not consent to their Way of thinking. They think themselves to be the strongest People in the World; and that they can overpower both the *French* and *English* when they please. The white People are in their Eyes nothing at all. They say that through their conjuring Craft they can do what they please, and nothing can withstand them. In their Way of fighting they have this Method, to see that they first shoot the Officers and Commanders; and then, they say, we shall be sure to have them. They also say, that if their Conjurers run through the Middle of our People, no Bullet can hurt them. They say too, that when they have shot the Commanders the Soldiers will all be confus'd, and will not know what to do. They say of themselves, that every one of them is like a King and Captain, and fights for himself. By this Way they imagine they can overthrow any Body of Men that may come against them. They say, 'The *English* People are Fools; they hold their 'Guns half Man high and then let them snap: We 'take Sight, and have them at a Shot, and so do the '*French*.' They do not only shoot with a Bullet, but big Swan Shot. They say the *French* load with a Bullet and six Swan-Shot. They farther say, 'We 'take Care to have the first Shot at our Enemies, and 'then they are half dead before they begin to fight.'

The *Indians* are a People full of Jealousy, and will not easily trust any Body, and they are very easily affronted and brought into Jealousy; then afterwards they will have nothing at all to do with those they suspect; and it is not brought so easy out of their Minds; they keep it to their Graves, and leave the Seed of it in their Children and Grand-Children's Minds; so if they can they will revenge themselves for every imagined Injury. They are a very distrustful People. Through their Imagination and Reason they think themselves a thousand Times stronger than all other People. *Fort du Quesne* is said to be undermined. The *French* have given out, that if we over-

power them and they should die, we should certainly all die with them. When I came to the Fort, the Garrison, it was said, consisted of about one thousand four hundred Men, and I am told they will now be full three thousand *French* and *Indians*. They are almost all *Canadians*, and will certainly meet the General before he comes to the Fort, in an Ambush. You may depend upon it the *French* will make no open Field-Battle as in the old Country, but lie in Ambush. The *Canadians* are all Hunters. The *Indians* have agreed to draw back, but how far we may give Credit to their Promises the Lord knows. It is the best Way to be on our guard against them, as if they really could with one thousand overpower eight thousand.

Thirty-two Nights I did lay in the Woods; the Heavens were my Covering. The Dew came so hard sometimes that it pinched close to the Skin. There was nothing that laid so heavy on my Heart as the Man that went along with me. He thwarted me in every Thing I said or did; not that he did it against *me* but against the *Country* on whose Business I was sent: I was afraid he would overthrow what I went about. When he was with the *English* he would speak against the *French*, and when with the *French* against the *English*. The *Indians* observed that he was a false Fellow, and desired me that I would not bring him any more to transact any Business between the *English* and them; and told me it was through his Means I could not have the Liberty to talk with the Prisoners.

Praise and Glory be to the LAMB that has been slain, and brought me through the Country of dreadful Jealousy and Mistrust, where the Prince of this World has his Rule and Government over the Children of Disobedience.

The Lord has preserved me through all the Dangers and Difficulties that I have ever been under. He directed me according to his Will by his holy Spirit. I had no one to converse with but him. He brought me under a thick, heavy and dark Cloud
into

into the open Air; for which I adore, praise and worship the Lord my God, that I know has grasped me in his Hands, and has forgiven me for all Sins, and sent and washed my Heart with his most precious Blood; that I now live not for myself, but for him that made me; and to do his holy Will is my Pleasure. I own that in the Children of Light there dwells another Kind of Spirit than there does in the Children of this World; therefore these two Spirits can't rightly agree in Fellowship.

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK POST.

The Event of this Negotiation was, That the *Indians* refused to join the *French* in attacking General *Forbes*, to defeat him (as they had *Braddock*) on his March. So the *French*, despairing of the Fort if the General should arrive before it, burnt it, and left the Country with the utmost Precipitation.

Extract

*Extract of a Letter from Philadelphia, dated Dec. 10,
1758.*

I attended the late Treaty at *Easton*. I wish I could say the same Conduct as usual was not pursued. During the whole Treaty two Things were laboured with the utmost Diligence; to lessen the Power of *Teedyuscung*, and to save, if possible, a certain Character. In both they failed; for *Teedyuscung*, instead of losing has increased his Power, and established himself at the Head of five Tribes. The *Indians* that lie to the North of us, between us and the Lakes, consist of three Leagues: The *Senekas*, *Mohawks*, and *Onondagoes*, who are called the Fathers, compose the first: The *Oneidas*, *Cayugas*, *Tuscororas*, *Nanticokes*, and *Conoys*, (which are united into one Tribe) and the *Tuteloes*, compose the second League; and these two Leagues make up what we call the *Six Nations*. The third League is formed of the *Ckibobocki*, (or *Delawares*) the *Wanami*, the *Munseys*, *Mawhiccons*, and *Wapingers*. From all these Nations, except two or three, we had the chief Sachems with us at *Easton*. The whole Number of *Indians* by the best Account we could get, amounted to 501. I send you a Copy of what I there took down from Day to Day; it may give you some Notion of the Proceeding at *Easton*, and inform you of several Things which I doubt not will be misrepresented. I was careful to set down nothing but what I heard or saw myself, or received from good Authority. The Intimacy I had with several of the *Indians*, and the Confidence they have been pleased to repose in me, gave me an Opportunity of being acquainted with what passed at the private Council.

On *Saturday, Oct. 8*, the Governor had the first Interview with the *Indians*, at which very little more passed than the Compliments usual at a first Meeting. *Monday* and *Tuesday* the *Indians* were in close Consultation among themselves. The Place of their Meeting

ing at *Croghan's*. And here let me observe, that it affords some Matter of Speculation, why *Croghan*, who is here in no public Capacity, should be honoured with a Guard at his Door. The Reason of the *Indians* meeting at his House is more easily accounted for, as he treats them with Liquor, and gives out that he himself is an *Indian*. The Subject in Debate these two Days, is, Whether what *Teedyuscung* has done shall stand, or they are to begin anew? The grand Thing aimed at by our Proprietary Managers, is to get *Teedyuscung* to retract the Charge of Fraud and Forgery. In order to gain this Point the *Senekas* and *Six Nations* are *privately* treated with and prompted to undo what has been done, in order, as is pretended, to establish their own Authority and gain the Credit of the Peace. *Teedyuscung*, and his People, absolutely refuse to retract any Thing they have said. He insists, that what was done in the Beginning of the War, was done by and with the Advice and Consent of the *Senekas*; that the Reasons he had assigned to the Governor for his striking the *English*, are the true and only Reasons. The Debates were warm. At Length it is agreed, that every Thing already transacted between *Teedyuscung* and the *English* shall stand; that at the opening the general Council, *Teedyuscung* shall make a short introductory Speech, after which the *Seneka* and other Chiefs, without invalidating any Thing already done, shall proceed to Business.

Matters thus settled, they break up on *Tuesday* about 11 o'Clock, and expect to meet the Governor immediately, but the Meeting is deferred till next Day.

On *Wednesday* Morning some of the Quakers got together the Chiefs and Old Men of the several Tribes, in order to smoke a Pipe with them. After they had broken up, Mr. *Chew* of the Council, came to invite the Committee of Assembly to a Conference, in order to shew them the Speech the Governor intended to make to the *Indians*, and to take their Advice thereon; it being before agreed on, that Nothing should be said

to

to the *Indians*, but what the Committee of Assembly and Commissioners should be previously made acquainted with. The Council and Commissioners being agreed, the *Indians* are desired to meet; while the Chiefs were calling them together the Governors agree to go to Dinner, and desire the Meeting may be deferred till four o'Clock. As the *Indians* were met when they received this, that they might not scatter, they agree to sit down and wait at the Place of Meeting till the Time appointed. At four the Governors came, when they had taken their Seats, *Teedyuscung* arose and made a Motion to speak, but the Governor of *New Jersey* said, as he had not yet welcomed the *Indians*, he desired to be heard first, and after welcoming the *Indians* in the Name of his Province, he recapitulated what he had done to obtain an Interview with them, confirmed what he had said in the Messages he had sent them, professed his Desire to do them Justice, and live at Peace with them, but insisted upon their delivering up those of his People they had Prisoners among them, without which, he could never be convinced of their Sincerity. He farther added, that as the *Senekas* and *Cayugas* had undertaken to answer his Message to the *Munseys*, he was ready to hear what they, or any other *Indians* there, had to say respecting his Province.

As soon as he had done, *Teedyuscung* arose, and addressing the Governors said, that as he had been desired to invite down the several Nations of *Indians* he had any Intercourse with, he had done it; that here they were now met, and if they had any Thing to say to the *Indians*, or the *Indians* to them, they might now speak to each other; that for his own Part he had Nothing to do but to sit and hear; he had already told the Governor of *Pensilvania* the Cause why he had struck him, and had concluded a Peace with him, for himself and his People, and that every Thing which could be done at present was concluded and agreed upon, in order to secure a lasting Peace.

With this he gave a String.

Then

Then *Tagashata* the *Seneka* arose and said, That he was very glad the Most High had brought them together with such good Countenances; but that the Day was now far spent, that the Business they were about was weighty and important; he therefore desired it might be deferred for the present, and that he might be heard To-morrow Morning early. On *Thursday* they met; the Conference was at first interrupted by *Teedyuscung* coming in drunk, and demanding of the Governor a Letter that the *Alleghenians* had sent by *Pisquetumen*. This Letter contained the Speech of the *Alleghenians*, in Answer to the Message delivered to them by *Frederic Post*. The *Indians* entrusted *Post* with the Carriage of it; but as he went from *Shamokin* to meet the General, he sent it down by the *Indians*, and by some Mistake inclosed it in a Packet to *Bethlehem*; so that when the *Indians* came to *Philadelphia* and met the Governor, in order to deliver their Speech and Belts, they found they had none. This gave them great Uneasiness, but the Governor informing them he expected *Post* at the Treaty, they agreed to go up to *Easton* and wait his Coming; and this they did the readier, as they had some Messages for *Teedyuscung*. But now being informed, that the Governor had received from *Bethlehem* the Letter containing their Speech, they desired *Teedyuscung* to request it of the Governor that it might be read, as they were eager to return, and a great deal depended on the Answer they were to carry back. As *Teedyuscung* was too drunk to do Business, Mr. *Peters* told him that the Letter should be read at another Time, and begged him to have a little Patience. This Bustle being over, *Tagashata* arose and spoke, approving what had been said by the Governor of the *Jerseys*, and declaring that the *Minisinks* had listened to the Advice of the *Senekas*, and laid down the Hatchet; and that they, the *Senekas*, had also sent the same Advice to the *Delawares* and *Minisinks* on the *Ohio*, and hoped they would regard it.—After the *Indians* had finished their

Speeches,

Speeches, just as the Council was going to break up, Mr. *Norris*, Speaker of the Assembly, arose, and craved the Ear of the Governors, letting them know that he understood Reports were propagated among the *Indians* to his Prejudice, and that tended to raise Uneasiness among them, and set them against the People of the Province. He then called upon *Moses Tetamy*, a noted *Indian*, to declare whether he had heard of any Person spreading a Report among the *Indians*, that he was concerned in the Purchase of Lands at or near *Wyoming*. *Tetamy* observed, that *Teedyuscung* was too drunk to enter upon that Matter now. Mr. *Norris* then said, that as that was the Case, and as he was obliged to go Home Tomorrow, and could not attend another Meeting, he took this Opportunity, in the Presence of both the Governors, and of all the Gentlemen present, to declare that he was neither directly nor indirectly engaged in the Purchase of any Lands at or near *Wyoming*; and that whoever asserted the contrary erred against Truth; and he desired *Moses Tetamy* would inform the *Indians* of this.

This Speech was levelled against *G. Croghan*, who had been spreading some false Reports among the *Indians*, and endeavouring to set *Teedyuscung* against the People of the Province. As Mr. *Norris* had no Opportunity of canvassing the Matter publicly, in order to know what *Croghan* had said, he next Morning sent for *Teedyuscung*, who being asked what had passed between him and *George Croghan* respecting the *Wyoming* Lands, declared,

That in the Beginning of this Week, *G. Croghan* came to him and told him, that *Isaac Norris* and a Quaker who lived in *Philadelphia*, had been concerned with the *New-England* People in purchasing the Lands at *Wyoming*, and that they had paid the Money for the said Lands; that though they endeavoured to make the *Indians* easy and satisfied about it, yet whenever the *Indian* Claim to these Lands was mentioned, they could

could not bear it, and were very uneasy about it; that the said *G. Croghan* desired him (*Teedyuscung*) to say nothing about this Affair to any Body at this Treaty, and that if he did not, it was in the Power of him the said *George*, who acted by Virtue of a Commission from Sir *W. Johnson*, to set that Affair right, and to settle the *Indians* on the said Lands, notwithstanding what these Purchasers could do. And *Teedyuscung* declared, that if this should prove true, neither he nor any other *Indians*, would settle on these Lands, but would resent the Injury.

This was interpreted by *Moses Tetamy*, in the Presence of *Amos Strickland*, *James Wharton*, *James Child*, and *Abel James*, who subscribed their Names as Evidences. And Mr. *Norris*, in order to satisfy *Teedyuscung* that the whole was a groundless Falsehood, wrote and signed and delivered to *Teedyuscung* a solemn Declaration, that neither he, nor any one for him, to his Knowledge, was either directly, or indirectly, concerned in the Purchase of any Lands at or near *Wyoming*.

This done, he sent for *G. Croghan*, and read to him what *Teedyuscung* had charged him with; which *Croghan* positively denied, and appealed to another *Indian* who was present at the Conversation: The other *Indian* being called upon, confirmed every Word that *Teedyuscung* had said. *Croghan* still persisted in denying it, and told a plausible Story which he said was the Subject of their Conversation, as he could shew from his Diary. Mr. *Norris* told him, it was possible the *Indians* might have misunderstood him, and desired him to produce his Diary; but *Croghan* refused that, and said he would shew it to the Governors at a convenient Time, and that it should be read in public before the Conference broke up. On this one of the *Indians* observed, that it would be easy for him to go Home and write down what he pleased, and afterwards pretend he had done it before; that the best Way was to shew it now, and then it might have some Credit paid to it. This he was pressed to do, in Vindication of himself, and to
avoid

avoid Suspicion. But he persisted in refusing, for a Reason, I suppose, you will think too obvious to mention, and went away in a Passion.

It is evident from the Countenance and Favour *Croghan* meets with that he does not act of himself, in these his Endeavours to embroil Affairs among the *Indians*.

On *Friday, October 13*, a Conference was held, at which the Governors spoke, and the *Allegheny* Letter was read. At the Close of the Conference, one *Nichos* a *Mohawk* made a Speech, which at *Con. Wieser's* particular Request was not then interpreted in public. The Substance of the Speech, we were soon after informed, was to disclaim *Teedyuscung's* Authority. This *Nichos* is *G. Croghan's* Father-in-Law, and him 'tis thought *Croghan* now makes use of to raise Disturbance among the *Indians*, as he found himself baffled in his other Scheme. He could not prejudice *Teedyuscung* and set him against the People of the Province; he therefore now labours to set the *Indians* against him by the same Methods, I suppose, that he attempted the former.

On *Sunday, October 15*, there was a private Conference at *Scull's* but neither *Teedyuscung* nor any of his People were there. Next Day a Conference was held in public, at which were read the Minutes of what had passed: When they came to what was said Yesterday they stopped; but at the Request of the Six Nation Chiefs it was read. What concern'd *Teedyuscung* there, seemed little more than whether he should be considered as a King or an Emperor. They did not deny his Power over his own Nations, and he never claimed (except in his Cups, if then) any Authority over the *Six Nations*; nay, as the Governor observed, he expressly declared they were his Superiors, and that tho' he acted as Head for his own four Tribes, he acted only as a Messenger from his Uncles.

On *Wednesday, October 8th*, when the *Six Nation Indians* come to return an Answer, they gave us a Specimen of their *Finesse* in Politics. We had been harraßed with an *Indian War*; the Governor called upon them

them to declare the Causes of it. The Chiefs disclaimed all Concern in it, and declared that it was not done by the Advice or Consent of the Public Council of the Nations, tho' they frankly owned some of their young Men had been concerned in it. As Counsellors they would not undertake to assign the Causes of their Uneasiness, or what had induced them to strike the *English*, lest it should appear as if they had countenanced the War, or at least had not been at due Pains to prevent it. They therefore left the Warriors to speak for themselves. The Causes they assigned were the same that had been assigned before. Our Managers were very earnest to have the *Six Nations* Speaker say he spoke for the *Delawares*. However, *Teedyuscung* maintained his Independancy; and as soon as *Tomas King* sat down, he arose and said, that as his Uncles had done, he would speak in Behalf of his own People; and as his Uncles had mentioned several Causes of Uneasiness, he would now mention one in Behalf of the *Opines*, or *Wapings*, &c. This I find differently represented in the printed Treaty; but as there are several other Places liable to Objections, I shall, if I have Leisure, send you one with some Notes.

You see by *Tomas King's* Speech, that what was conjectured in the Enquiry relating to the Purchase of 1754, was not groundless, and that that Purchase was one main Cause of the War.

I find the same Effect may be attributed to different Causes; for the going away of the *Six Nation* Chiefs, which I, who was not so clear-sighted as to discover the great Dissatisfaction said to have been visible in the Countenances of the *Indians*, attributed to the Coldness of the Day and the Fatigue of long sitting, I find in the printed Treaty ascribed to their Aversion to *Teedyuscung* and Disapprobation of what he was saying.—The next Day the *Munseys*, dissatisfied with some Part of the *Six Nations* Conduct, demanded and received back the Belt by which they had put themselves and their Affairs under their Direction, and gave it to
Teedyuscung

Teedyuscung. The Close of the Conference on *Friday, October 20th*, was nothing but Confusion. After the Governor had done, *Nichos* the *Mohawk* said the Governor left Things in the Dark; that neither he nor any of the Chiefs knew what Lands he meant; if he spoke of the Lands beyond the Mountains, they had already confessed their having sold them; but the Governor had their Deeds, why were not these produced and shewn to their Cousins the *Delawares*? Here *C. Weiser* went and brought the Deed of 1749. *Nichos* acknowledged the Deed. It was shewn to *Teedyuscung*; but he could not readily be made to understand why it was now brought, all Matters relating to Land being as he thought referred to the Determination of the King. Governor *Bernard* of the *Ferseys*, who had something to say, had several Times desired to be heard; but the Affair of the Deed so engrossed the Attention of our Governor, his Council, and Interpreter, that no Regard was paid to what Governor *Bernard* desired. In short their Behaviour on the Occasion was so very unpolite, that many could not help blushing for them. And at the last, the producing the Deed raised such a Commotion among the *Indians*, that they broke up without giving Governor *Bernard* an Opportunity to speak a Word.

Next Day a private Conference was held with the Chiefs of the *Indians*. As our People have not thought fit to publish it, I shall give it to you as I had it from some who were present.

Teedyuscung taking out a String of white and black Wampum, told the Council and Commissioners (the Governor was not there) that he had made Enquiry concerning the Deed produced Yesterday, and was satisfied his Uncles had sold the Land describ'd therein; he saw likewise that *Nutimus* the *Delaware* Chief had signed the Deed, and found upon Inquiry that he had received forty four Dollars, part of the Consideration-Money. This being the Case, he would make no Dispute about that Deed, but was ready to confirm it; for
he

he wanted to be at Peace with his Brothers the *English*. But he observed, that his confirming that Deed would not affect the Claims he had formerly made; for the Lands he thought himself principally wronged in, lay between *Tobiccon* and the *Kittatinny* Hills. On this he gave a String. After he had delivered the String, *Tokabayo*, a *Cayuga* Chief, arose, and in a very warm Speech commended the Conduct of *Teedyuscung*, and at the same Time severely reprehended that of the *English*. He told *Teedyuscung*, ‘That he himself and ‘the other Chiefs were obliged to him for his Candour and Openness; that they plainly perceived he ‘spoke from the Heart, in the same Manner they ‘used to do in ancient Times, when they held Councils together. They wished they could say as much ‘of the *English*; but it was plain the *English* either did ‘not understand *Indian* Affairs, or else did not act ‘and speak with that Sincerity and in the Manner ‘they ought. When the *Indians* delivered Belts, ‘they were large and long; but when the *English* returned an Answer or spoke, they did it on small ‘Belts and trifling little Strings*. And yet the *English* made the Wampum, whereas the *Indians* were ‘obliged to buy it. But the Reason was, the *Indians* ‘spoke from the Heart, the *English* only from the ‘Mouth. Besides, how little the *English* attended to ‘what was said appeared from this, that several of the ‘Belts and Strings they (the *Indians*) had given them, ‘were lost.’ [That is *unanswered*; for you’ll please to observe no Answer was returned to the Complaints the *Indians* made respecting *Carolina*, the *Ohio* Affair, or the *Opines*.] ‘If the *English* knew no better how ‘to manage *Indian* Affairs, they should not call them ‘together. Here they had invited them down to ‘brighten the Chain of Peace, but instead of that, ‘had spent a Fortnight wrangling and disputing about

* Among the *Indians* the Size of the Belts they give with their Speeches, is always in Proportion to their Ideas of the greater or less Importance of the Matters treated of.

‘Lands. What must the People of *Allegheny* think of this Conduct when they are informed of it by their Messengers?’

On *Tuesday* a public Entertainment was given to the *Indians*, and in the Evening the Chiefs were called together by *R. Peters* and *C. Weiser*. Hitherto the *Indians*, tho’ several Times pressed to it, had deferred giving an Answer to the Proposal made on Behalf of the Proprietors to release back to the *Indians* the Lands of the Purchase of 1754, West of the *Allegheny* Mountains, provided the *Indians* would confirm to them the Residue of that Purchase. But the Deeds being drawn up agreeable to what the Proprietors proposed, it now remained to persuade the *Indians* to sign them as drawn. And To-night ’tis said that is done. I wish this may not be a Foundation of fresh Uneasiness. In public Council they declared they would confirm no more of that Land than what was *settled* in the Year 1754, for which *only* they had received the Consideration; but all the rest they reclaimed. Yet now by the Deed as drawn, ten Times, nay I may say twenty Times as much Land is conveyed as was then settled. For the *English* Settlements in 1754 extended but a little Way up the *Juniata* and *Sherman’s* Creek, whereas the present Grant reaches to the *Allegheny* Mountains. May not the Warriors to whom the Lands have been given for hunting Grounds disapprove this Grant as they did before, and maintain their Right by Force of Arms? I wish this Fear may be groundless. Besides, I could have wished that another Time than the *Close of an Entertainment* had been chosen for executing the Deeds, considering the *Indians* Fondness for Liquor.

But I have already too much transgressed upon your Patience; I shall therefore only add that *I am, &c.*

Ex-

*Extract of a Letter from one of the Friendly Association
in Philadelphia, dated December 11, 1758.*

At the late Treaty *Teedyuscung* confirmed the Purchase of 1749^{*}; his Motives for this Confirmation, were to engage the *Six Nations* to confirm the *Wyoming* Lands to him and his People; but such Measures were pursued, by our proprietary Managers, to prevent it, and to set the *Indians* at variance with each other, that all our Arguments, Persuasions and Presents were scarce sufficient to keep them from an open Rupture.

The Business was shamefully delayed from Day to Day, which the Minutes are calculated to screen; but it is well known to us who attended, that the Time was spent in attempting *Teedyuscung's* Downfal, and silencing or contradicting the Complaints he had made; but he is really more of a Politician than any of his Opponents, whether in or out of our proprietary Council; and if he could be kept sober, might probably soon become Emperor of all the neighbouring Nations.

His old Secretary not being present, when the Treaty began, he did not demand the Right of having one, and thought it unnecessary, as he was determined rather to be a Spectator than active in public Business, so that we are imposed on in some Minutes of Consequence.

General *Forbes's* proceeding with so much Caution has furnished Occasion for many imprudent Reflections; but I believe he pursued the only Method, in which he could have succeeded. Whether he is a Soldier or not I cannot judge, nor is it my Business; but I am certain he is a considerate understanding Man; and it is a Happiness to these Provinces, that he prudently determined from the Entrance on the Command here; to make use of every rational Method

* This was a Purchase made by the Proprietors from the *Six Nations*, of Lands claimed by the *Delawares*.

of conciliating the Friendship of the *Indians*, and drawing them off from the *French*; so that since we had his Countenance and Directions, our pacific Negotiations have been carried on with some Spirit, and have had the desired Effect.

The Express left the General at *Fort Duquesne* (now *Pitt's-burgh*) on the 30th ult. and says he would stay to meet the *Indians*, of whom he expected five hundred in a Day or two, having heard they were near him on the other Side the River. He will, no doubt, provide for divers Matters shamefully neglected at *Easton*, where our proprietary Agents wisely releas'd to the *Indians* all the Lands westward of the Mountains, without so much as stipulating for the keeping a trading House in any Part of that extensive Country.

This Neglect is now much noticed; and as we are assur'd there will be a great Want of Goods there this Winter, I am fitting out two Waggons with about 5 or 600 l. worth of Strouds, Blankets, Match-coats, &c. which shall be sent to the General either to be sold or given away in such Manner, as may most effectually promote the public Interest: The Weather being pleasant and mild, and the Roads good, I am in hopes they will be conveyed to *Ray's-Town* in a few Days. Our *Friendly Association* have, out of their Fund, expended upwards of 2000 l. but the Cost of these Goods must be paid (if they are given away) out of the Contributions of the *Menonists* and *Swengfelders*, who put about 1500 l. into my Hands for these Purposes.

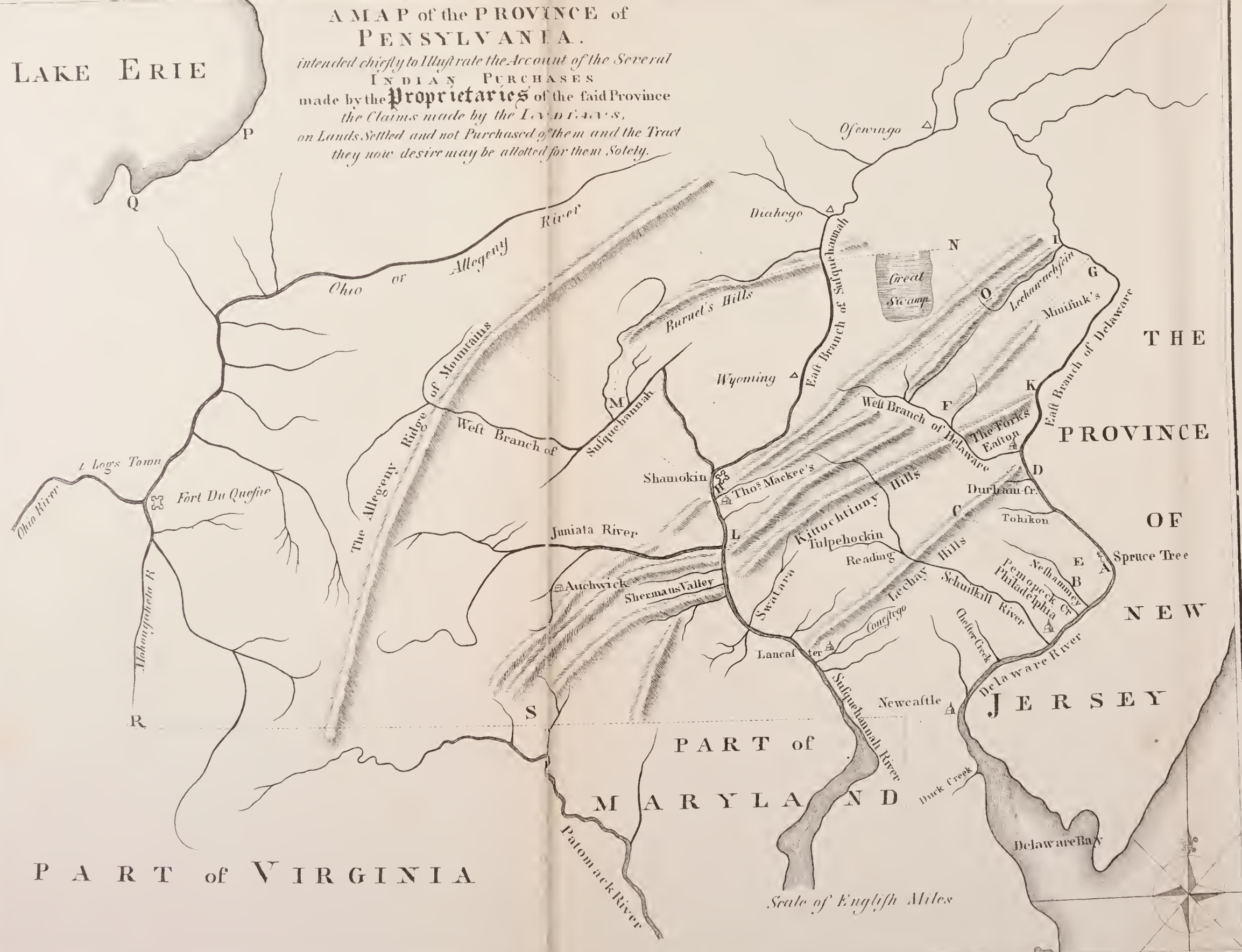
I am, &c.

F I N I S.

LAKE ERIE

A MAP of the PROVINCE of PENNSYLVANIA.

intended chiefly to Illustrate the Account of the Several INDIAN PURCHASES made by the Proprietaries of the said Province the Claims made by the INDIANS, on Lands Settled and not Purchased of them and the Tract they now desire may be allotted for them Sotely.



A B C D describes the Lands granted by the Indians Walking-Sale, as lately walk- ed out by W. Pearson, containing 330,000 Acres.

A E F G describes the Land of the same Grant according to the Proprietaries Claim, containing about 1,000,000 Acres.

H I K L the Bounds of the Grant made by the Six Nations, in 1749, containing about 1,500,000 Acres.

H M N O the Land desired by Teedyuscung to be secured for a Settlement for the Indians, containing about 2,000,000 Acres.

L H P Q R S the Bounds of the Purchase of 1754, containing about 7,000,000 Acres.



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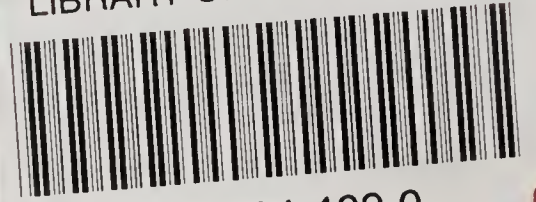
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